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The Political History of America

Illustrated in Four Colors

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*You See the United States Grow from Thirteen Small, Weak and Debt Burdened Colonies
to the Great Union of Forty-eight Powerful States*

THIS UNIQUE PICTURE BRINGS TO THE MIND A CLEAR AND COMPREHENSIVE
UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IMPOSSIBLE
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Formation of the World's First Real Republic

The First Government of The People, By The People, For The People

STORY OF OUR NATION'S POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Edited by Francis Curtis

AUTHOR of HISTORY of REPUBLICAN PARTY—INTRODUCTION by THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Also AUTHOR of HISTORY of DEMOCRATIC PARTY—HISTORY of AMERICAN TARIFF, etc.

OUR POLITICAL CONDITIONS AT CLOSE OF REVOLUTION

At the close of the Revolutionary War, when the States entered into a compact known as the "Articles of Confederation" it was thought that peace and independence would bring with it success in government and material welfare. It was found, however, that the confederacy would prove a failure—first, because of a conflict of state governments; second, because of the inability to raise revenue to pay the debt incurred during the War or to carry on the Government in the future.

It was seen that stronger government was necessary or some more potent tie to bind the States in one harmonious plan, and a convention was finally suggested to revise the "Articles of Confederation." This convention met in 1787, among its members being Washington, who was elected its president, Benjamin Franklin, then more than eighty years of age, Alexander Hamilton and many others. After months of deliberation a Constitution was framed and, though it met with considerable opposition, was finally adopted. In

the midst of the opposition and to overcome the influence tending towards its rejection, Hamilton and Jay together with Madison published a series of essays over the signature "Publius," which were afterwards collected and published under the title of "The Federalist." These articles influenced many wavering minds towards accepting the Constitution, but at the same time fostered a divided sentiment and created what may be called the formation of two great political parties, then known as the "Federal" and "Anti-Federal." The Federalists, of course, favored the establishment of a central government after the plan marked out in the Constitution, while the Anti-Federalists were in favor of State sovereignty. After the Constitution had been adopted and ratified by the States, however, many of the Federalists became its defenders and while the name was continued they referred rather to the interpretation or construction of the provisions of the Constitution than, as previously, to its adoption.

ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON FIRST PRESIDENT—1789-97—FEDERAL PARTY IN POWER FINANCIAL POLICY INAUGURATED—WHISKEY REBELLION—FIRST INDIAN TREATY

Washington was not inaugurated until the 30th of April, 1789, at Federal Hall, New York City, although the inauguration of the new government had been fixed for the first Wednesday in March, which fell on the 4th of the month, and has since continued as the date for our presidential inaugurations.

The new House of Representatives had gathered leisurely and, there being a quorum, on the 1st of April the work of legislation was immediately entered upon; but with the exception of minor enactments no bill was framed till the first tariff law, which passed both houses and was signed by the President on July 4. This "tariff law" has been pointed to by protectionists since as containing the basic principle of their belief as shown in its preamble, as follows:

"Whereas, it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on imported goods—therefore, be it enacted," etc.

It is well to call attention to the principles laid down in this preamble of the first important law passed by our national Legislature for the reason that the tariff question has been a contention between all political parties since that time, more prominently, however, since the close of the Civil War.

A national income was at once secured, but the revenues proving insufficient, duties were from time to time increased and the new Government at once gained the respect of other nations.

It soon became necessary to carry out the provisions of the Constitution relating to new offices, and Congress at once passed bills to form three departments: The State, at first called "Foreign Affairs," Treasury, and War. The Post-office department, already established, was simply continued and the office of Attorney-General was established, at first as a personal office and not an executive department.

Jefferson, upon his return from France, was made Secretary of State, and at once became the leader of a sentiment and of a faction, at first, and then of a party opposed to the administration.

Hamilton, although but thirty-two years of age, was made Secretary of the Treasury and became the leading supporter of the administration. Knox, who was made Secretary of War, took sides with Hamilton, while Randolph, who had been appointed Attorney-General, agreed with Jefferson.

At the first session of the first Congress, federal courts were established and circuit and district courts were also provided for in addition to the Supreme Court. In order to avoid confusion of interpretation of the national laws provision was made that an appeal could be had from the Supreme Court of any State to the Supreme Court of the United States, in consequence of which the supremacy of the national laws was to be secured without conflict with the enactments of any State. John Jay was appointed as first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Perhaps the most important task undertaken as departmental work during the administration of Washington was in connection with the finances. Hamilton prepared and submitted to Congress at its second session a report showing that the debt of the United States was about \$54,000,000 and that the debt measures be taken for the payment of every proposed incurred, not only by the Government, but by the States themselves. A bill was framed and finally passed providing, in accordance with the suggestion of Hamilton, for the full payment of the entire domestic as well as foreign debt, although the proposal to assume the obligations of the States met with vigorous opposition and a bill for that purpose was at first defeated.

Among the plans of Hamilton for the payment of the debt was an excise tax and the establishment of a national bank. Madison now loomed up as the opponent of the bank, although he had favored the excise. The question of nationalization and of a broad or strict construction of the Constitution again came to the front and the debate waxed fierce not only in Congress, but throughout the country. Two great political parties were gradually forming, one in support of the views of Washington and Hamilton, the other rallying around Jefferson and Madison. Before the end of Washington's first term the two parties were in direct opposition to each other and the political division which had now become so formidable in opposition to the administration was dignified by a name of its own instead of any longer being simply an "anti" party. It was called the "Republican" party and its leaders adopted that name, though many of the Federalists in derision and contempt styled it the "Democratic" party because its opinions and views seemed to reflect largely the democratic ideas which Jefferson had gained while Minister to France. It was nearly a generation,

however, before the members of the Republican party themselves accepted and used the name "Democrat" instead of "Republican," although it was sometimes used in hypophorism as Democratic-Republican or Republican-Democratic.

While the President's cabinet seems to have been divided against itself in a continuous, irreconcilable conflict of opinion, still Washington himself received the unanimous vote of the people and of the electors for a second term. The new Government through his indefatigable efforts for stability and peace had proven itself capable of showing strength, both financially and industrially. In short, the Republic was a success and there was no longer any doubt as to its perpetuity.

Hardly had Washington been inaugurated the second time before the differences of party leaders grew more marked, even to the point of acrimony and bitterness. John Adams was chosen Vice-President and it soon became apparent that he would be the candidate of the Federalists in 1796—while Jefferson had no rival as the Republican leader. With the exception of the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion," which was simply a resistance to the excise law which was finally put down by decisive action led by Hamilton himself, the chief problems of Washington's administration were those connected with our foreign policy. We were independent of any European power and yet from an industrial and commercial standpoint we were comparatively weak. England sent no Minister to this country until 1791 and the Treaty of 1783 was apparently forgotten. The war between France and England broke out in 1793 and the States were at once placed in an embarrassing and delicate position. While England was inclined to be very friendly and independent, France at once showed a disposition to court our favor and sent to this country a Minister, Genet, who at first asked and then demanded favors from the government—finally behaving himself so outrageously that Washington asked for his recall. England, on her exasperating manner, but Washington insisted upon strict neutrality and foreign complications were for the time avoided. John Jay was sent as a special envoy to England and a treaty was finally made very favorable to England which met with violent opposition at home, but was finally ratified by the Senate.

While we were embarrassed with foreign affairs the Indians began to give trouble at home and it was necessary in 1790 that an expedition be sent to punish those tribes who had been attacking civilized men and women. After two expeditions had been entirely routed by the army, Washington, in 1794, gave to General Anthony Wayne command of an army which completely defeated the Indians and which was followed by a treaty with the chiefs.

Hamilton and Jefferson both resigned from their offices during the close of Washington's administration and cabinet changes followed. Three new States had been admitted to the Union—Vermont in 1791, Kentucky, formed from the western part of Virginia, in 1792, and Tennessee, in 1796.

The eleventh amendment to the Constitution was proposed in 1794, but not adopted until four years later. Washington declined to consider a third term and in September, 1796, issued a farewell address, which remains among our most historic national documents. His administration, although constantly surrounded by the perils which must always engulf a new government, was eminently successful. Washington's own courage and perseverance being largely responsible for this success, and yet he was largely aided by his cabinet, particularly Hamilton, who brought the finances of the country out of chaos into such order as to command not only the respect of foreign countries, but our own realm of finance at home. As Webster said afterward: "Hamilton smote the rock of the national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth; he touched the dry corpse of the public credit and it sprang upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst from the conception of Alexander Hamilton."

CAMPAIGN OF 1796

In the election of 1796, which was contested most vigorously, John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, who were supported by the Federalists, defeated Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the candidates of the Republicans. As the two candidates receiving the largest and next largest vote became respectively President and Vice-President, the election resulted in making Adams President and Jefferson Vice-President, the two leading officials of the Republic being in direct opposition to each other, an opposition which continued to be bitter during the entire administration of Adams.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS SECOND PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1797-1801—FEDERALISTS IN POWER WAR WITH FRANCE FEARED—FEDERALIST PARTY OVERTHROWN

With the many domestic problems which had arisen during the administration of Washington it had not been possible for us to secure that freedom abroad and on the high seas to which our young nation was entitled. Both the English and the French had plundered our merchantmen and had impressed our seamen, neither country paying the least respect to our rights on the high seas. Adams determined if possible to correct the existing abuses. Charles Pinckney succeeded Monroe as Minister to France, but was not received by the French government. A commission consisting of John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry and Pinckney were appointed for the purpose of bringing France to terms, but nothing was accomplished, and the commission left Paris after being repeatedly humiliated by Talleyrand, the French Minister, who sent secret messengers to the commission bearing various dispatches and requests. The President sent these dispatches to Congress and as the names of the French messengers were not given, the letters "X, Y, Z," were used, from which circumstances the affair has always been known as the "X, Y, Z" affair. War became imminent. Washington was given command of a newly organized army, being succeeded shortly afterwards by Hamilton—but France, on seeing the preparations which were being made, assumed different tactics, a new commission was sent abroad and friendly relations were re-established. The "X, Y, Z" affair had the tendency to unite for a time both parties, which was taken advantage of by the Federalists to enact more severe laws against any sympathy with foreign governments. These laws, passed in the summer of 1798, were known as the "Alien and Sedition" laws, the first, extending the necessary residence for naturalization to fourteen instead of five years—the second, authorizing the President to expel from the country all dangerous aliens. The "sedition" act provided for the punishment of all persons who opposed the laws or hindered officers in their enforcement; it also made punishable by a fine and imprisonment anyone guilty of writing or aiding to publish anything against the President or Congress. These laws were intolerable and became practically ineffectual, being repealed or dying by limitations.

They, however, provoked the so-called "Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions" and were the cause of the overthrow of the Federal party. The "Alien and Sedition" laws were uncalled for and without doubt exceeded the powers of the Constitution, however broadly it might be construed. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, on the other hand, went to the other extreme in their emphasis of States' rights, a doctrine which became the basis of the Hartford convention of 1814, Nullification in 1832 and Secession in 1861. Madison, who was a follower of Jefferson, framed the Virginia resolutions, those of Kentucky having been framed by Jefferson himself. They were as pernicious as the laws which provoked them and the principles involved became a subject for contention and a most noteworthy part of our national history for more than half a century. One of the last official acts of President Adams was the appointment of John Marshall as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, January 31, 1801.

CAMPAIGN OF 1800

The Federalist party, now divided against itself, began to disintegrate and the Republicans, who under the leadership of Jefferson were growing stronger, found it no difficult task to defeat Adams in the election of 1800. According to the manner of voting, however, both Jefferson and Burr, the candidates of the Republicans, received the same vote, 73, while Adams and Pinckney, the candidates of the Federalists, received respectively 65 and 64. The tie vote for Jefferson and Burr threw the choice upon the House of Representatives, and Jefferson was elected, receiving the vote of ten States, while Burr, receiving the next largest vote of the States, was elected Vice-President.

In order to avoid in the future similar trouble in presidential elections, the twelfth amendment to the Constitution was adopted and took effect in 1804. It provided that the electors should cast a ballot for President and a separate ballot for Vice-President.

ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON THIRD PRESIDENT—EIGHT YEARS—1801-9, DEM.-REP. PARTY IN POWER LOUISIANA TERRITORY ACQUIRED—TRADE WITH FRANCE AND ENGLAND ABOLISHED

Jefferson made Madison Secretary of State and Albert Gallatin Secretary of the Treasury. The Republicans, who had up to this time been opposed to nationalization or an extension of the powers of the central government, now that they were in control of the government at once took steps to broaden the scope of government and to extend our territory. The necessity for a seaport as an outlet for the northwestern and western territory became apparent. It was the region called Louisiana, drained by the Mississippi and owned by the French; it covered 864,931 square miles, embracing what is now Arkansas, Indian Territory, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, nearly the whole of Louisiana, Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming and parts of Colorado and Oklahoma. France, too busy with preparations for war at home, neglected to take possession of this territory, which they had acquired from Spain, and it was without difficulty gained for the United States for the sum of about \$15,000,000, being ceded by a treaty, promptly ratified by Napoleon for France and ultimately by the United States Senate. The acquisition of this territory marked not only the beginning of a great development of our national and industrial march toward the Pacific, but also intensified the already growing sentiment bound to produce such strained national feeling and finally resulting in the Civil War because of the extension of territory given to Slavery. With the accession of Louisiana the two great political divisions seem to have changed their principles, the Federalists opposing the purchase, while the Republicans favored it. While the purchase was not influenced by the question of Slavery, at the same time it added unbounded slave territory to our country and fears were at once entertained, which were afterward fully confirmed, that a large portion of the new territory would ultimately be given up to the slave traffic. Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies at once sprang up in different parts of the country, their work being mainly confined to petitions to Congress, which, however, decided that it had no power to abolish Slavery in those States where it existed. It is possible, however, that the influence of these societies resulted in the total abolition of slavery in the North, the various States granting freedom as follows: Vermont in 1777; Massachusetts in 1780; Pennsylvania in 1780; New Hampshire in 1783; Rhode Island in 1784; Connecticut in 1784; New York in 1799; New Jersey in 1804.

The Constitution had extended the period under which slaves could be imported until the year 1808, and in 1807 a bill was framed which provided for the prohibition of slave importation after January 1, 1808.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON FOURTH PRESIDENT—EIGHT YEARS—1809-17, DEM.-REP. PARTY IN POWER ENGLAND DRIVEN FROM U. S. SOIL—WAR 1812—GREAT BUSINESS REVIVAL

The first few years of Madison's administration were consumed wholly with plans for meeting the intolerable conditions which existed in connection with our intercourse with foreign nations. We could not fight both France and England, nor did it seem possible to obtain from either any just concession. Thousands of dollars' worth of vessels were being confiscated and a crisis was imminent.

The Non-Intercourse Act was abandoned in 1810, but in 1811 Congress passed an act re-establishing no intercourse with Great Britain.

At home the Indians on the Western frontier were causing much trouble and their leader, Tecumseh, brought on a war with the Americans in the autumn of 1811. General William Henry Harrison, who commanded the government

troops, defeated the Indians in the battle of Tippecanoe, fought November 11.

In Congress new leaders were coming to the front, Henry Clay of Kentucky being chosen Speaker of the House and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina becoming a prominent member. Webster entered Congress in 1813.

Madison was no doubt influenced by the young, ambitious Republicans, and finally, yielding to his party, on June 1, 1812, sent a message to Congress dealing with the British aggressions against our rights. Congress declared war on the 18th. Two days before, on the 16th, the Orders in Council were withdrawn by the House of Commons, which action, could it have been cabled to America, would undoubtedly have prevented the War of 1812.

During the first months of the war our victory over Great Britain on the seas was decisive and showed that

Growth of the Young Republic—Financial Policies Established

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National Problems Developed—Tariff Measures Adopted—Amazing Progress of Our Industrial Pursuits

England had met her equal. During this year of 1812 Madison was re-elected President and steps were at once taken to drive the English from our territory. The American army finally achieved success in this respect and, in spite of many reverses on both land and sea, accentuated by the great victory of General Jackson of the British force at New Orleans, a treaty was discussed and finally entered into December 24, 1814, peace having been concluded at Ghent.

From the first, great opposition to the war had been manifested, and it should be recited that in 1814 a convention of delegates from the New England states met at Hartford, where remonstrances were drawn up and amendments to the Constitution proposed much in line with the Virginia resolution of 1798—but before decisive action was taken peace was restored and discredit reacted upon the Federalists who had not only taken no part, but who had opposed the war, which otherwise did much to nationalize the country.

During the war import duties had been doubled and the fact that all importation ceased for the time gave great impetus to our industrial advance, there being no revenues from imports, however, our financial position became a difficult one and brought to treasury operations the utmost confusion. Just before the outbreak of the war, Congress had refused to recharter the national bank, resulting in a large increase of State banks with various volumes of capital, and some even without any capital at all.

At the close of the war, in 1815, the demand for protection to American manufactures resulted in a new tariff

intended to be protective enough to prevent the importation of English manufactures. It proved, however, inadequate and our ports were for several years flooded with foreign goods, which resulted in a propaganda, at first small but which grew more and more formidable, looking towards a tariff that would be ample to protect our manufactures from competition abroad.

Great development was being made in our Western territory and money, as early as 1816, had been appropriated for a large national highway to run from the Potomac over the mountains into the West. The so-called Cumberland road bill was afterwards vetoed by Monroe, on the ground of unconstitutionality, but with this exception there was no sign of a wish to return to a strict construction of the Constitution as advocated by the Republicans at the beginning of their party existence.

CAMPAIGN OF 1816

Monroe had been very prominent in various offices, had been Madison's efficient Secretary of State during the war, had been Secretary of War itself and was the logical candidate of the Republicans for President in 1816, overwhelmingly defeating Rufus King, the candidate of the Federalists, who carried only three States—Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE

FIFTH PRESIDENT—EIGHT YEARS—1817-25—DEM.-REP. PARTY IN POWER
MONROE DOCTRINE PROCLAIMED—MISSOURI COMPROMISE ON SLAVERY QUESTION

The eight years of Monroe's presidency were not attended by any foreign or domestic event of transcending importance. It was, for the most part, a period of peace between parties and at the time of Monroe's second election, when he received every electoral vote but one, it was called the "Era of Good Feeling."

Perhaps the principal material result of the eight years' administration can be seen in the industrial development of the country, particularly in the West and Southwest. Immigration had carried thousands of people throughout the newly acquired territory. Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1803 and Louisiana in 1812, and the inhabitants of the various sections had doubled in number. In 1816 Indiana entered the Union; Mississippi in 1817; Illinois in 1818; Alabama in 1819; Missouri in 1821. Steamers were plying up and down the Western rivers and the United States was no longer a seacoast republic, but a country reaching far into the interior, where the industries of the country were to be agricultural and mining, aided by manufactures to be added to the shipping interests of the Atlantic coast and the products of the plantations of the South.

In 1793 Eli Whitney, a native of Connecticut, then residing in Georgia perfected his invention of the cotton gin, which at once revolutionized the cleansing of cotton from the seed. A slave who, hitherto, had only been able to clean about one pound a day was at once enabled to cleanse from fifty to one hundred pounds, and as the machine was improved and perfected a single person was able to cleanse the enormous amount of one thousand pounds a day. Thus, apart from any legislation whatever, a demand for slave labor was instituted far in excess of the supply and a large portion of the negro slaves of the country were engaged in the culture of cotton alone. From 1791 to 1860 the production of cotton increased more than one thousand fold and was undoubtedly one of the principal causes for the continuation and perfection of the institution of Slavery and for the great contention which spread over the country from the War of 1812 to the Civil War, terminating at Appomattox.

During the administration of Monroe the development of the South as well as all other parts of the country was rapid, but confined almost entirely to its own staple product—cotton. In the North, however, industries became more diversified and political and industrial leaders were intent upon a tariff that would enable them to manufacture a large portion of the goods imported from England and the continent. The question of Slavery considered at the time of the adoption of the Constitution had in comparison with other events been of little importance till Missouri applied for admission to the Union in 1819. At this time an amendment was introduced providing that no more slaves should be introduced into Missouri and that all children born after the admission of the State should be free at the age of twenty-five years. The House adopted the amendment, but it was rejected in the Senate and a discussion was precipitated which shook the country from one end to the other.

Maine, now about to separate from Massachusetts, asked admission as a State also, and a compromise was finally

agreed upon in 1820 known as the "Missouri Compromise," which provided for the admission of Missouri as a slave State, but with the exception that there was to be no Slavery in territory purchased from France under the name of Louisiana north of the line 36 degrees 30 minutes. Maine was admitted under the terms of this compromise and the Slavery question was "settled." But the country was divided into two sections and the people into two factions—Slavery and Anti-Slavery.

The Federal party had practically died out of existence and a new alignment was to follow because of differences in new national questions arising out of financial management, the tariff and the question of Slavery. Soon after the Napoleonic wars, Russia, Austria, France and Prussia formed what was called "The Holy Alliance." Canning, Secretary of State for Great Britain, suspected that an attempt would be made to obtain possession of certain Spanish territory in America and went over the matter with our Minister to London, Mr. Rush, and gained his co-operation in joining England in some means to thwart the suspected intentions of the Alliance. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, brought the matter before the cabinet meeting, where it was decided to express disapprobation of the suspected scheme. The result was that Monroe's message to Congress in 1823, contained what has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine, it being, in brief, an unwritten law to the effect that we should consider "the attempt of any foreign power to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety" and declaring at the same time that "we have not interfered and shall not interfere with the colonies or dependencies of any foreign power." This policy has been endorsed by every succeeding administration and is looked upon by not only our own people, but universally conceded abroad as a strict American policy which we should resort to war to maintain.

By 1824 the protectionists of the country had become powerful enough to pass the tariff bill of that year which was opposed by Webster and supported firmly by Clay, who called it "a genuine American policy which was to build up home industries and give a home market for American products."

CAMPAIGN OF 1824

The election of that year was practically a contest between the members of the one existing Republican party. The candidates, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson and William H. Crawford, were all members of the same party, then called the Republican or Democratic-Republican party. It is not surprising that no one received a majority of all the electoral votes cast. Jackson received 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37, and choice was thrown upon the House of Representatives, which finally elected Adams. The bitterness engendered by the election, particularly after it had been thrown into the House of Representatives, and the increasing differences over the tariff and Slavery questions, put an end to the "Era of Good Feeling" and resulted in the formation of a powerful political division, known as "Jackson" men and, from and after the election of 1828, as the Democrat party.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

SIXTH PRESIDENT. FOUR YEARS—1825-29—DEM.-REP. PARTY IN POWER
TARIFF BILL AND RAILROAD EXPANSION DEVELOPS NORTHERN INDUSTRIES

John Quincy Adams had enjoyed a long and varied career in official life. He had been Foreign Minister, Senator and Secretary of State. His administration was, however, attended by factional disputes growing out of bitterness over the election itself and in no way assuaged because Adams appointed his principal competitor, Clay, Secretary of State. The two parties were now known as "Adams men" and "Jackson men." The Adams men, or as they soon became known, the National Republicans, advocated a large extension of governmental functions and increased appropriations for public improvements. The Democrats opposed such liberal expenditures and rallied round Jackson as their leader. The beginning of railroad building, the completion of the Erie Canal and the extension of roads in every direction were the most notable features of the administration of the second Adams. The industrial development of the country was marked in every direction and so beneficial had been the tariff of 1824 to Northern manufacturing interests that still larger duties were imposed by a new tariff passed

in 1828, which, because of its strictures upon foreign importations, was styled the "tariff of abominations." Webster himself, who had previously been a free trader, had now become a most ardent protectionist and a firm supporter of the tariff of 1828.

The South, seeing the progress the North was making in manufactures and still having only its agricultural industries, confined for the most part to cotton raising, felt that its very industrial life was imperilled and mutterings of discontent soon gave way to plans for thwarting, if possible, the effects of the tariff and for checking a growing sentiment against the extension of its institution of Slavery.

CAMPAIGN OF 1828

As the imposition of the tariff and the internal improvements of the country had been consummated under the administration of Adams, the sentiment of the entire South

was now against him and, joined by the foes of internal improvements at the North, made a most formidable party, which had no difficulty whatever in electing Andrew Jackson, who was called the "people's friend" and was a most popular man throughout the country, as President in 1828.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON

SEVENTH PRESIDENT—EIGHT YEARS—1829-37—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER
POLITICAL SPOIL SYSTEM INTRODUCED—THE NATIONAL BANK OVERTHROWN
ERA OF GREAT INVENTIONS—FIRST THREAT OF SECESSION OVER TARIFF

With the inauguration of Jackson there began in many respects a new era in national politics, and in the great questions unsolved but which were nearing a critical conclusion. Till Jackson became President officeholders had only been removed for inefficiency or dishonesty. In eight years Washington removed nine public officers, one for default; John Adams in four years removed ten, one for default; Jefferson in eight years removed thirty-nine; Madison in eight years removed five, three for default; Monroe in eight years removed nine, six for default; John Quincy Adams in four years only removed two, and both of them for default. Jackson immediately proceeded to turn out about 2,000 men from their positions and gave their places and salaries to his friends, remarking that he was "too old a soldier to leave his garrison in the hands of enemies." It was the beginning of the "spoils system" in American politics, which is no different now than during the days of Jackson except that the word "spoils" has been translated into the term "patronage."

The hostility of the South to the protective system as exemplified by the tariff of 1828 became most acute, especially in South Carolina, led by John C. Calhoun. The sovereignty of the State was now discussed openly and Nullification, and even Secession, was repeatedly threatened. The utterance of these theories was given in the Senate by Senator Hayne of South Carolina, who was answered in a most forcible speech by Daniel Webster, this so-called reply forming one of our principal historic documents. The speech of Webster was received with great favor throughout the North and condemned with equal fervor throughout the South.

In 1832 a new tariff act was passed which, though it was more moderate than that of 1828, was still not acceptable to Southern leaders, and steps for immediate nullification were taken. A convention of the people of South Carolina declared the tariff "null and void," forbade its extension within the State and threatened secession from the Union if there should be an effort to enforce it. The Ordinance was passed in November, 1832, and was to go into effect February 1, 1833. On December 11, Jackson issued a famous proclamation addressed to the people of South Carolina, which, though reasonable, was strong and uncompromising. He not only issued a proclamation declaring that the laws of the United States must be executed, but he made preparations to enforce the law and gave such instructions to General Scott that there was no doubt whatever that the entire machinery of the Government would be used if necessary to put down at once any insurrection on the part of any single State. In the meantime a tariff law was being considered in Congress and a bill was finally framed and adopted, known as the "Compromise tariff," which had been submitted by Mr. Clay. The "nullifiers" accepted this as entirely satisfactory, and the "Ordinance of Nullification" was directed against the tariff as a menace to the industrial interests of the South, yet there is no doubt that President Jackson was right when he wrote to a friend in Georgia in 1834: "The tariff was but a pretext, the next will be the Slavery or Negro question."

Jackson had written to Buchanan, then Minister to Russia in 1833, saying: "The public say that although tariff was made the ostensible object, a separation of the Confederacy was the real purpose of its originators and supporters." By the "Compromise tariff" of 1833 the slave question was again "settled," as it had been by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The "Compromise tariff" of 1833 provided for a gradual lowering of duties, till a horizontal uniform rate of 20 per cent should be reached.

In 1832 a struggle arose between the friends and opponents of the United States bank. The National Republicans, headed by Clay, approved of the bank, but in 1832, though the charter did not expire until 1836, a bill was passed granting a new charter. This Jackson vetoed, on the ground of unconstitutionality, and the issue of "bank" or "no bank" figured largely in the presidential campaign of that year.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN

EIGHTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1837-41—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER
FIRST GREAT FINANCIAL PANIC—ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT GROWS

Although in his inaugural message Van Buren called attention to "An aggregate of human prosperity not elsewhere to be found; in possessing a popular government wanting in no element of endurance or strength," nevertheless, one of the greatest financial panics and periods of distress came upon the country immediately afterwards. Failure followed failure; workmen were thrown out of employment and there came suffering and misery on all sides. Van Buren was in no wise equal to suggesting or putting into execution any plans for the betterment of conditions. While he did not recommend a restoration of the national bank, yet he proposed that the Government itself should take care of its own funds. The panic lasted during the most of Van Buren's term and with it many of the questions more or less directly identified with our public life became prominent.

In 1840 William Lloyd Garrison had joined Benjamin Lundy at Baltimore in publishing "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." Later Garrison started the "Liberator" at Boston and founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society. This grew into the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a large abolition sentiment grew throughout the entire North. The feeling, however, was by no means universal and the abolitionists were from time to time attacked most severely, a prominent example being the shooting of Elijah P. Love-

Adams was denounced as an aristocrat; Jackson was hailed as a "man of the common people," as the "hero of New Orleans" and as "Old Hickory," who had succeeded in whatever he had undertaken. Calhoun was elected on the Jackson ticket as Vice-President.

CAMPAIGN OF 1832

For the first time in our history, candidates were presented by party conventions and in 1831 the Anti-Masonic party, which was a body organized because of the feeling against the Masons, who were charged with the murder of one William Morgan, who had threatened to divulge the secrets of the order, held a national convention and nominated William Wirt for the Presidency.

Jackson and Calhoun had become estranged and Van Buren, who was the Secretary of State, began at once to enlist Jackson and his followers in his own favor for succession to the Presidency, alienating for this purpose Calhoun and his friends. The National Republicans met in national convention at Baltimore on December 12, 1831, and nominated Henry Clay for President and John Sargent of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. No platform was adopted by this convention, but an address to the people was issued as had been done by the Anti-Masonic party.

The Democrats in May, 1832, called a convention in Baltimore and nominated a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, it being unnecessary to nominate a candidate for President, as Jackson had been so universally accepted by the party. The convention adopted the "two-thirds" rule, which has prevailed till the present day, requiring that two-thirds of the whole number of the votes of a convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice. Van Buren was nominated for Vice-President, but no platform was adopted, nor was any address issued to the people.

The contest was bitterly fought. Jackson received a large majority of the electoral vote, though the popular vote was more evenly divided. The election gave Jackson confidence in his own views, as he believed they had been endorsed by the people, and in 1833 he made another attack upon the bank, going so far as to remove the deposits. To do this it was necessary to make changes in his cabinet, and he finally appointed as Secretary of the Treasury, Roger B. Taney, who carried out the President's orders, withdrawing the deposits from the United States bank and depositing in several State banks, known as "pet" banks.

The opponents of Jackson were now coalescing into a new party, called the "Whig" party, by whom Jackson was fiercely attacked, and a resolution of censure was placed upon the records of the Senate. Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, a prominent Democrat and friend of the administration, gave notice that he would introduce a resolution each session to erase this resolution from the records, and after three years his famous "expunging resolution" was adopted.

The action of the President gave impetus to great speculation and extensive increase of State banks throughout the country, and a bill was passed for the purpose of distributing among the States the surplus revenues belonging to the national government. Three out of four quarterly installments were made, amounting in all to about \$28,000,000, and in this way the entire surplus was eaten up. In spite, however, of the so-called "wildcat speculation," the country was growing in every way—industrially, intellectually and socially. Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Everett, Bancroft and others are identified with this period of our history; while in the industrial world we note the invention of the reaper, the mower, of smelting, of improvements in many labor-saving devices and the beginning of an era bound to result in great national development. Great human progress was made during the administration of Andrew Jackson and nowhere was this progress more rapid or more substantial than in the United States. Schemes and speculation of all kinds were sure to follow such rapid material upbuilding, and yet when Jackson retired in 1837 the storm, which was imminent, had not broken.

CAMPAIGN OF 1836

Martin Van Buren succeeded Jackson as the successful candidate of the Democrats, defeating in 1836 the Whig candidate, General William Henry Harrison of Ohio, the hero of Tippecanoe.

joy at Alton, Ill., in 1837, because of his persistent publication of an Anti-Slavery newspaper. Garrison himself was mobbed in Boston, being dragged through the streets by a rope around his neck.

The feeling in the South, however, against the abolitionists was bitter in the extreme. Slave owners were incensed almost beyond toleration, which resulted in the beginning of bitter sectional feeling. Thus Van Buren's term was taken up largely with the difficulties of a financial panic and the new and more intensified hostility engendered between the South and certain portions of the North because of the institution of Slavery. Ex-President John Quincy Adams had become a member of the House of Representatives and when petitions almost without number had been sent to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, a rule was finally proposed providing that such petitions should not be printed or referred, but laid upon the table. Adams rose and said, "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of this House and the rights of my constituents." The rule, however, was adopted by a large majority, but Adams devoted almost the remainder of his life to a presentation of petitions and an attempt to have them considered. This action illustrates the feeling of the two sections.

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Briggs	Geo. S. Boutwell	J. M. Clifford	E. Washburn	Henry J. Gardner	Nathaniel Banks	John A. Andrew	A. H. Bullock	William Claflin	W. B. Washburn	William Gaston	Alex.	son	F. Thomas	F. Thomas	Thomas G. Pratt	Philip F. Thomas	Enoch Louis Lowe	Thomas Watkins Ligon	Thomas Hollyday Hicks	Augustus W. Bradford	Isaac W. C. Cox	Oden Bowie	William P. Whyte	James B. Groome	John	rdson	J. Hammond	William Aiken	David Johnson	W. B. Seabrook	John M. Means	John L. Manning	James H. Adams	R. F. V. Alston	William H. Gist	Francis V. Pickens	M. L. Bonham	A. G. Magrath	B. Perry	James L. Orr	Robert K. Scott	F. J. Moses, Jr.	D. H. Chamberlain	N.H.	ge	H. Hubbard	John H. Steele	A. Colby	J. W. Williams	Samuel Dinsmoor	Noah Martin	W. B. Baker	Ralph Welch	William Haile	Ichabod Goodwin	Nathaniel S. Berry	Joseph A. Gilmore	Frederick Smythe	W. Harriman	Onslow Stearns	J. A. Weston	Ezekiel A. Straw	J. A. Weston	Person C. Cheney	Va.	rd	J. M. Gregory	James M. Howell	William Smith	John B. Floyd	Joseph Johnson	Henry A. Wise	John Letcher	W. Smith	F. A. Pierpont	Henry Wells	Gilbert C. Walker	James L. Kem	N.Y.	rd	W. C. Bouck	W. C. Bouck	Silas Wright	John Young	Hamilton Fish	Washington Hunt	Horatio Seymour	Myron Clark	John A. King	Edwin D. Morgan	Reuben E. Fenton	John T. Hoffman	John A. Dix	Samuel J. Tilden	L.R.	M. Morehead	John M. Morehead	William A. Graham	Charles Manley	David S. Field	W. Winslow	Thomas Bragg	John W. Ellis	Henry T. Clark	Z. B. Vance	W. W. Holden	W. W. Holden	Tod R. Caldwell	Curtis R. Brogden	Z. B.	R.I.	el W. King	James Fenner	C. Jackson	B. Diamond	Elisha Harris	Henry B. Anthony	Philip Allen	F. M. Dorman	William W. Hopps	Elisha Dyer	T. G. Turner	William Sprague	W. C. Cozzens	James Y. Smith	Amrose E. Burnside	Serh Padelford	Henry Howard	Henry Lippitt	Vt.	Chas. Paine	J. M. Brooks	William Slade	Horace Eaton	Carlos Coolidge	Chas. K. Williams	J. Fairbanks	J. S. Robinson	Stephen Royce	Ryland Fletcher	Hiland Hall	Fairbanks	Frederick Wolbrooke	J. Gregory Smith	Paul D. Ningham	John B. Page	P. Washburn	G. Mendenhall	John W. Stewarr	Julius Converse	Asahe Peck	Horace	Ky.	P. L. Lecher	R. Lecher	William Owsley	J. J. Crittenden	J. Helm	L. W. Powell	Chas. S. Morehead	Beriah Magoffin	Jas. F. Robinson	Thos. E. Bramlette	John W. Stevenson	P. H. Leslie	James B.	Tenn.	James C. Jones	James C. Jones	Aaron V. Brown	Neil S. Brown	W. M. Trousdale	W. B. Campbell	Andrew Johnson	Isham G. Harris	Andrew Johnson	William G. Brownlow	D. W. C. Senter	John C. Brown	J. D. Por	Ohio	Corwin	W. Shannon	W. Shannon	T. Darley	William Bebb	S. Ford	Reuben Wood	William Medill	Salmon P. Chase	W. Denison	David Tod	J. Brough	C. Anderson	Jacob D. Cox	Ruth'd B. Hayes	Edward F. Noyes	William Allen	R. Hayes	Ind.	uel Bigler	James Whitcomb	P. C. Dunning	J. O. S. A. W. R. i. g. h. r.	Ashbel P. Willard	M. Hammond	M. Lane	O. J. Ver P. M. o. r. t. o. n	C. o. n. r. a. d. B. a. k. e. r.	Thomas A. Hendricks	Miss.	Nutt	T. M. Tucker	T. M. Tucker	Albert G. Brown	Joseph W. Matthews	J. A. Quintan	J. L. Guion	Henry F. Foote	J. J. Perdue	John J. McRae	William M. Willie	John U. Pettus	Charles Clark	W. L. Sharkey	Benj. G. Humphreys	Adelbert Ames	J. L. Alcorn	Ridgeley C. Powers	Adelbert Ames	Jo	Ill.	l. Ford	Thomas Ford	A. Augustus C. French	Joe A. Matteson	William H. Bissell	J. Wood	Richard Yates	Richard U. Oglesby	John M. Palmer	R. J. Oglesby	John L. Beveridge	Ala.	Benj. Fitzpatrick	Benj. Fitzpatrick	Joshua L. Martin	Reuben Chapman	Henry W. Collier	John A. Winston	Andrew B. Moore	John G. Shorter	Thomas H. Watts	Robert M. Patton	William H. Smith	Robert B. Lindsay	David P. Lewis	George S. Hous	Me.	John Fairfield	H. J. Anderson	John W. Dana	John Hubbard	W. C. Crosby	Anson P. Morrill	Hann	Hamlin	Lot M. Morrill	I. Washburn	J. A. Coburn	Samuel Cony	Joshua L. Chamberlain	Sidney Perham	N. Dingley, Jr.	Selden Cor	Mich.	J. W. Gordon	J. S. Barry	John S. Barry	A. Felch	W. L. Greenly	Epaph. Ransom	J. S. Barry	R. B. McClelland	A. Parsons	Kingsley S. Bingham	Moses Wisner	Austin Blair	Henry H. Crapo	Henry P. Baldwin	John U. Bagley	La.	Roman	Alexandre Mouton	Isaac Johnson	Joseph Walker	Paul O. Hebert	Robert C. Wickliffe	Thomas O. Moore	Jas. M. Wilson	Wells	B. Flanders	Henry Clay	Wormouth	W. P. Kellogg	John M. Enery	Mo.	as Reynolds	T. Reynolds	M. Edwards	Austin A. King	Stratling Price	T. P. Jackson	Art. M. Stewart	C. Jackson	G. Gamble	W. Hall	Thos. C. Fletcher	J. W. M. Clurg	B. G. Brown	S. Woodson	P. H. H. din	Ark.	bald Yell	A. Yell	S. Adams	Thomas S. Drew	John S. Roane	E. i. a. s. N. C. o. n. w. a. y.	Henry M. Rector	H. Flannigan	Isaac Murphy	Powell Clayton	O. Hadley	Elisha Baxter	Augustus H. Garland	S. J. Kirkwood	J. G. 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Slavery Question Becomes a Serious Menace to National Unity

The Mexican War—California Acquired—National Domain Extended from Sea to Sea

The South was strong in its feeling that its institutions should not be interfered with; the North divided between the desire for abolition itself and a feeling that some time trouble must come with the only possible outcome, namely, war.

With the other difficulties of his administration, Van Buren had to contend with the troublesome Indians and his term ended without the various uprisings having been quelled.

CAMPAIGN OF 1840

In 1840 the Democrats again nominated Van Buren. Clay was the logical candidate of the Whigs and was the real leader of the new party, a party of opposition made up of several elements. In the convention, through a trick, William Henry Harrison was nominated instead of Clay. John

Tyler, a thorough "States' rights" man, is said to have wept when Clay was defeated for the nomination, and for that reason was himself given the nomination for the vice-presidency.

A third party, called the "Liberty party," composed of abolitionists and all those who were strongly opposed to Slavery, nominated James G. Birney for President. The campaign was a most excitable one and yet rather more spectacular than a campaign with the elucidation of principles. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were the watchwords of the Whigs, and the principal slogan was a desire for a change without prediction as to what the change would bring about. Harrison and Tyler were elected overwhelmingly, considering the electoral vote, but by only a small plurality of the popular vote. The Whigs were jubilant over their first victory and Harrison made Daniel Webster Secretary of State.

ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON AND TYLER NINTH AND TENTH PRESIDENTS—FOUR YEARS—1841-45—WHIG PARTY IN POWER TEXAS ANNEXED—SLAVERY EXTENDED—NEW PROTECTIVE TARIFF

The policy inaugurated by Jackson of turning out office-holders and substituting those friendly to the administration brought upon Harrison such a besiegement of office-seekers that his strength was tried beyond endurance, and in just a month after his inauguration he died, it being the first time in our history that a death had entered the White House.

Tyler at once succeeded and utmost anxiety and concern followed on the part of friends of Harrison and the Whig party in general. Tyler retained Harrison's cabinet, but soon became ambitious, and with the hopes of re-election asserted his independence and soon became estranged from the party that elected him. Twice he vetoed a "bank" bill passed by Congress; his cabinet, with the exception of Webster, resigned. He vetoed two tariff measures before he signed the tariff law of 1842, and the Whigs in general were deprived of the fruits of their victory.

The tariff of 1842 was a thoroughly protective measure, designed not only to bring adequate revenue to the treasury, but to stop the importations that were made easy by the various reductions which had followed the Compromise tariff of 1833.

The question of the annexation of Texas had gained more or less public attention as settlers from the Southern States had begun to move into Mexican territory soon after the treaty with Spain had been agreed to. The American population was, of course, opposed to the political system of Mexico, and in 1836 the Texans declared their independence with the battle of San Jacinto, under the leadership of Samuel Houston. The following year Texas asked admittance to the Union and the proposition was favored by the Southern people because it would extend slave territory.

In 1843 Calhoun became Secretary of State and bent all his energies towards annexing Texas, but the Senate rejected a treaty secretly entered into, as it was seen that the annexation would mean a war with Mexico.

CAMPAIGN OF 1844

The situation was most acute when the election of 1844 occurred, and annexation naturally became an issue in that

campaign. It was expected that Van Buren would be the choice of the Democrats, but as he opposed the annexation of Texas, he was defeated in the convention, and James K. Polk of Tennessee was nominated. Clay, who was nominated by the Whigs, objected to the annexation, and Birney was again nominated by the Liberty party. It was soon seen that Clay would have to ameliorate many of his would-be supporters, who wished to bring about the annexation, and the consequence was that in letters he declared he would like to see the annexation "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union and on just and fair terms," adding that the "subject of Slavery ought not to affect the matter." By so doing he lost Northern votes, without gaining any from the South. The Democratic party, however, was committed to annexation, and the tariff question also became an issue of the campaign. George M. Dallas, who was nominated with Polk, being a Pennsylvania protectionist, and Polk himself, in a letter declaring that he was in favor of both protection and revenue, gained for their ticket the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, and in New York State—because of the vote which Birney had taken from Clay—Polk easily got a majority of the popular vote and in the electoral college.

Tyler at once claimed that the election warranted him in taking immediate action towards annexation. A joint resolution passed both houses of Congress, authorizing the President to invite Texas into the Union as a State or to negotiate a treaty concerning admission. Tyler, wishing to gain for himself the honor which would accrue to Polk, made a proposal for immediate union and Texas accepted the invitation—thus another slave State, with slave territory, was added to the already growing power of the South, and consternation and fear took possession of those opposed to the policy of slave extension throughout the North. Heretofore the provisions of the Missouri Compromise had prevented further extension of slave territory; the annexation of Texas, however, showed that such territory could be extended without any limitations.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK ELEVENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1845-49—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER THE MEXICAN WAR—FREE TRADE—REPUBLIC EXTENDED FROM SEA TO SEA

Polk at once appointed a strong cabinet, making James Buchanan Secretary of State, Robert J. Walker Secretary of the Treasury, William L. Marcy Secretary of War, and George Bancroft Secretary of the Navy. He announced his intention of reducing the tariff, of establishing an independent treasury, of settling the Northwest territory and acquiring California. He succeeded in accomplishing every purpose. The Walker tariff, or tariff of 1846, was passed, very materially reducing the duties and taking away nearly every vestige of protection which had been the cardinal principle of Clay's so-called "American policy."

In order to defend the citizens of Texas against possible attack and to prevent any interruption of the annexation program, Polk sent General Zachary Taylor to Texas with 4,000 men in command. War did not, however, immediately break out, but Mexico could not calmly submit to the claims of the Texans and the boundaries, particularly, were a matter of dispute.

Beyond Texas was California, which Polk was so ambitious to acquire. In the early part of 1846, without sending a word of his intention to Congress, General Taylor was ordered to the left bank of the Rio Grande. A collision between our troops and the Mexicans was inevitable—in fact, it was provoked—and when the Americans were attacked and a few killed, the President sent a message to Congress, declaring that "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." "War exists," he declared, "by the act of Mexico itself." Congress sustained the declaration of the President and money was appropriated and a call authorized for 50,000 volunteers. The result was inevitable. With no reverses, with no losses, Scott and his lieutenants met with a series of unbroken victories and the City of Mexico was taken in 1847, and peace soon after concluded.

In the meantime Slavery had again been injected into national politics in the following manner:

In August, 1846, a bill was introduced for the appropriation of money to carry on the war. David Wilmot, a Democratic Representative from Pennsylvania, proposed a proviso that Slavery should never exist within any territory acquired from Mexico. The bill with this proviso passed the House, but did not pass the Senate. The contest was repeated the

following year, but the Senate finally won and an appropriation was made without the Anti-Slavery condition. For years after, the "Wilmot proviso" became a general phrase, and all were supposed to be in favor of the Wilmot proviso who opposed the extension of Slavery.

By the acquisition of Texas and what is now the State of California, some 875,000 square miles were added to our territory and the Republic stretched from sea to sea, with only the very northwestern territory, known as Oregon, as disputed territory. This territory now became the subject of international complications. There was a popular demand, especially from the West, for the whole of Oregon, and the cry raised was "fifty-four-forty (54 deg. 40 min.) or fight." The difficulty, however, was finally settled by a compromise, and the forty-ninth parallel was accepted as the boundary between the British possessions and those of the United States.

Not only as far west as the mountains, but through to the Pacific, the Slavery question now became paramount, not only as a political issue but as a sentiment affecting the sectional feeling throughout the entire country. Van Buren was the leader of a faction which had expressed its uncompromising hostility to the extension of Slavery into the territory now free. This faction of the Democratic party was called "Barnburners" as opposed to a faction called "Old Huskers."

CAMPAIGN OF 1848

The Democratic national convention nominated Lewis Cass for the presidency, while the "Barnburners," uniting with the Liberty party, formed a political division known as "Free-Soilers" and nominated for its candidate Martin Van Buren. The Whigs were also divided into two factions, known as "conscience Whigs" and "cotton Whigs." They were, however, inclined to avoid as far as possible the subject of Slavery and nominated General Taylor for the presidency, Millard Fillmore being nominated for Vice-President. Taylor and Fillmore were elected, but the "Free-Soilers" cast nearly 300,000 votes and were the forerunners of a party bound not only to be a formidable opponent of the great Democratic party, but to exterminate the very institution of Slavery itself.

ADMINISTRATION OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE TWELFTH and THIRTEENTH PRESIDENTS—FOUR YEARS—1849-53—WHIG PARTY IN POWER GOLD DISCOVERED IN CALIFORNIA—SLAVERY QUESTION BECOMING VERY ACUTE

President Taylor had been largely a soldier throughout his active life. He was a slave owner and entirely unfamiliar with official duties. Though himself a beneficiary of the institution of Slavery, he expressed his belief that it should not penetrate where the inhabitants did not want it and, above all, he was the soul of fairness and justice.

Florida had been admitted to the Union in 1845; Iowa in 1846. The admission of Texas was offset by the admission of Wisconsin in 1848. Oregon in the later year was established as a territory, Slavery or involuntary servitude being forbidden within the territorial limits.

It was then necessary for Congress to legislate regarding the territory acquired from Mexico. In 1848 gold was discovered in California and in the following year a great migration took place to the gold fields. The population grew rapidly and there at once became a necessity for State or Territorial government. September, 1849, a State constitution was adopted and preparations were made to seek admission into the Union. A clause prohibiting Slavery was adopted and the people ratified the result of the constitutional convention and elected State officers and members of Congress. Congress met in December of the same year and was met by California with its free constitution claiming admission to the Union. The South at once showed its opposition, as it would disturb the balance between the States, there being no slave State ready for admission to offset the admission of free California.

During the winter of 1849-1850 the feeling grew more and more intense and yet, as had happened twice before in the history of the country, Henry Clay, the great compromiser, was successful in bringing a temporary solution to the difficulties and the so-called "Compromise of 1850" was proposed and adopted—and again was the slave question "settled."

The compromise proposed, first, to admit California; second, to establish territorial governments without any allusion to Slavery; third, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law; fourth, the payment to Texas of a pecuniary equivalent for the relinquishment of her claim to New Mexico; fifth, the declaration that it was inexpedient to abolish slaves in the District of Columbia, but prohibiting slave trade in the District. The compromise was finally adopted after the greatest forensic dispute probably ever indulged in

ADMINISTRATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE FOURTEENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1853-57—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER BIRTH OF REPUBLICAN PARTY—KANSAS THE BATTLEGROUND OF FREEDOM

Pierce made William L. Marcy Secretary of State and Jefferson Davis of Virginia Secretary of War. The South was now in despair of overcoming the preponderance of the North in the United States Senate and consequently looked for further territory for the aggrandizement of its political power and the extension of its institution of Slavery. Cuba and Central America were both near and both suitable for Slavery. Moreover, the desire for the annexation of Cuba was not confined to the slave owners. Many at the North believed in acquiring that territory and adding it to the American Union. In 1854, at the suggestion of Marcy, the American Ministers to England, France and Spain—James Buchanan, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soule—met and consulted upon the proposition of acquiring the Island. Their place of meeting was at Ostend, Belgium, and the result of their deliberation was known as the "Ostend Manifesto." This remarkable document declared that the "Union can never enjoy repose nor possess reliable security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries," and it suggested that if Spain refused to sell the Island, we were justified in seizing it. Marcy, however, disapproved of the proposition and it was not sanctioned by the Government, but the Manifesto, when published, startled the world. The North and South were for the time living securely under the Compromise and it was supposed that the terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 would always exclude slavery from the country north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, but in January, 1854, the Senate began the consideration of a measure for organizing the territory west of Missouri, and an amendment was offered by Senator Dixon repealing so much of the Missouri Compromise as restricted the extension of Slavery. Soon after, Senator Stephen A. Douglas brought in a new bill providing for two Territories, to be known as Kansas and Nebraska, and for the repeal of the Slavery restriction of the Compromise of 1820, on the ground that it was "superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850," in other words, the principles of so-called "State sovereignty" or "squatter sovereignty" was proposed—that is, the principle that the people of a State should decide for themselves whether Slavery should be maintained in that State or not; in other words, after the organization of the new Territories, they would be allowed themselves to admit or exclude Slavery as they chose. The slave owners went so far as to insist that they should be allowed to go into the Territories with their slaves without intervention from anybody, either the people of the Territory themselves, or the National Government. The bill was passed by Congress in May, 1854.

The people of the North were at once aroused throughout the entire extent of the country. In several States political parties were formed and without any collusion whatever were called the Republican party, having for its principal tenet, opposition to the extension of Slavery into any new Territory, but having in mind particularly the new Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Douglas was condemned on every hand. "I could travel," he said, "from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own effigies."

On July 6, 1854, at Jackson, Mich., various parties combined under the name of "Republican," adopted a platform and nominated a State ticket. This was commonly accepted as the date of the birth of the Republican party. In the platform were the following resolutions:

In the United States Senate. Speeches were made by Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Seward and others, the Northern admirers of Webster being greatly disappointed by his support of the Compromise. Calhoun, at the point of death, sat and heard his speech read. The Compromise was received favorably for a time throughout the North and South. The people had a feeling of relief from the tension under which they had been living and another crisis seemed to be past. The only part of the Compromise which disturbed the North was the Fugitive Slave Law. This was so severe a measure that a negro claimed as a runaway slave had no right to trial by jury, could give no evidence in his own behalf and was absolutely without chance of escape. Many captures throughout the North only served to intensify the hatred against the institution itself, and the feeling began to grow more and more bitter as negro after negro, many of them free, were dragged away to Southern Slavery.

President Taylor died on July 9, 1850, while the Compromise was under discussion, and Fillmore succeeded to the presidency. He favored the Compromise, made Webster Secretary of State and completed an administration further devoid of historical prominence.

In the spring of 1852 Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared and because of its frank utterance, of its artistic word pictures and the belief on the part of the North that it depicted truly the system in vogue at the South, it was universally read, and perhaps did more than anything else to intensify the already growing feeling of hatred throughout the North and to embitter the South, who believed that its pet institution was in danger of being overturned.

CAMPAIGN OF 1852

In 1852 the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, while the Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott of Virginia. John P. Hale of New Hampshire, a "Free-Soil" Democrat, was nominated by the "Free-Soilers." Pierce was overwhelmingly elected and the victory of the Democratic party brought about the end of the Whig party, or, at least, its amalgamation into another political division.

"Resolved, That postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by Slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil be thus interposed between the free States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in union to avert and repair this grievous wrong and shame.

"Resolved, That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principle of Republican government, and against the schemes of an aristocracy, the most vile and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as Republicans until the contest be terminated."

The Republican party thus organized in the different States, although it was known in many States and localities as the Anti-Nebraska party, succeeded quite generally in the fall elections of that year. At the same time another party arose, known as the American or "Know Nothing" party. It was a secret organization devoted to the exclusion of foreign-born citizens, particularly Catholics, from suffrage, or at least from office holding. Whenever any of its members were questioned concerning its methods and plans, the answer would be "I do not know," from which statement arose the general term connected with the party itself. It assumed quite formidable proportions for a year or two, but a large number of its members finally joined with the Republicans—though in 1856, when the Republican party nominated its first candidate for President—John C. Fremont—to run against the candidate of the Democrats—James Buchanan, the Americans had their own candidate, Millard Fillmore.

In the meantime the struggle for Kansas began and the delegates to Congress had been elected and a Legislature favorable to Slavery. The residents of Missouri had gone over the border with the intention of seizing the government and committing it to Slavery. From the East and North enthusiasts rushed to the Territory in order to grasp the conflicts ensued, blood was shed and deeds of violence without number were committed; millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed; some two hundred persons killed and "bleeding Kansas" became the Northern watchword. Congress took up the subject and in May, 1856, Charles Sumner made his great speech on "The crime against Kansas." Personalities ensued and a day or two later Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, determined to take revenge for a personality directed by Sumner against Senator Butler of his State. Finding Sumner at his desk, Brooks entered and so seriously injured Sumner that he did not recover for years.

CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The two sections of the country were now becoming daily further and further apart in feeling and sentiment and the campaign of 1856 began under the most exciting auspices. Buchanan was elected, but his popular vote was not equal to that polled by the Republicans and American parties combined, and it was seen that a new political division had been formed which was bound to be a most important factor in our future national political life.

Civil War Drenches the Land with Blood of Her Fairest Sons ⁹

Emancipation Proclamation—Restoration of the Union—Period of Reconstruction and Reconciliation

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1859-61—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER DRED SCOTT DECISION—SIX SOUTHERN STATES SECEDE—CONFEDERACY ORGANIZED

Immediately following the inauguration of Buchanan, a most important decision was handed down by the Supreme Court. A negro slave by the name of Dred Scott had been taken by his master, Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army, into the State of Illinois, free territory. Emerson afterwards returned to Missouri with his slaves and sold them. Scott discovered that he had been a free man and in 1845 brought suit against his master for assault and battery and obtained judgment in his own favor. The Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the decision and an appeal was taken to the courts of the United States and was finally carried to the Supreme Court at Washington, which Court was ready to render a decision previous to the election of 1856, but concluded to postpone its judgment until after the inauguration of the new President. Five members of the Court were from the slave States, while two of its members were also Democrats. Roger B. Taney of Maryland was Chief Justice, and McLean was the only Republican, as Curtis was still rated as a Whig. It will be remembered that Taney had been the confidential adviser of President Jackson, carrying out his wishes regarding the deposits from the United States bank. Jackson had appointed him Justice of the Supreme Court and on the death of Marshall in 1835 he appointed him Chief Justice.

The decision regarding Scott was to the effect that he was not a citizen of Missouri in the sense in which the term is used in the Constitution, and that, therefore, the Circuit Court of the United States had no jurisdiction in the case and could render no judgment and that the suit must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction. The Court, however, was not satisfied with this simple decision. It decided to give lengthy opinions upon the various constitutional questions covered by different phases of the case. Each member of the Court handed down an elaborate argument, the seven Democrats, for the most part, agreeing, while McLean and Curtis differed most radically from their associates. The decision was hailed as a great victory for the slave owners and, if carried out, meant that the Compromise of 1820 was no longer effective—in fact, that it was unconstitutional and that Congress had no authority to exclude Slavery from the Territories. At the same time the Fugitive Slave Law was further intensifying the feeling at the North and the so-called "Underground railroad" had grown up by which, secretly, Northern sympathizers were aiding the slaves to escape from their masters.

The pro-Slavery Legislature in Kansas had called a convention which met at Lecompton and formed a State constitution recognizing Slavery. This was not fairly submitted to the people and the question of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution was taken up in Congress. The Territory had fairly been won by the "free State" men, but it was impossible to get a bill through Congress admitting the Territory to Statehood with a constitution forbidding Slavery.

At this time the great debates between Lincoln and Douglas were carried on in the State campaign of Illinois, which contest was really one for the election of a Senator to succeed Douglas, he being a candidate to succeed himself, with Lincoln as the opposing candidate. Douglas was re-elected, but the moral victory was really with Lincoln, who was brought into national prominence by his wonderful mastery of the one great question before the whole people both North and South.

Because of its free labor and its advance in manufacturing and the arts, the North had far surpassed the South in its material wealth and supremacy. It was shown that the South, with its slave labor and with only its one industry, the raising of cotton, was deteriorating both as to the value of its land and its general wealth and its literary and social status. But the leaders would not admit that Slavery was a failure even from an industrial standpoint. Yet they were growing poorer and poorer, not only as regards their soil, but as regards their whole intellectual and social system. To further intensify the situation, a religious fanatic by the name of John Brown, who had at first fought in Kansas, came East and by the aid of certain sympathizers was enabled to make a raid at a place called Harper's Ferry in

Virginia. An attempt was made to seize the arsenal at that place and free the blacks and retire to some stronghold in the mountains. The attempt, however, was a failure, as the little band was soon overpowered—Brown being captured with others, brought to trial, convicted and hanged. But the whole country was so stirred by the event—and particularly the South, believing that the raid of Brown was endorsed by the entire North—that the campaign and election of 1860 was entered upon with much foreboding both North and South.

CAMPAIGN OF 1860

The Democrats were divided, one faction nominating Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and the other John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The Republicans, who had now united the various so-called "liberty factions" of the North into the great political body, nominated Abraham Lincoln, and after a campaign of unusual severity was successful. John Bell, who was a candidate of the so-called "Constitutional Unionists," composed largely of Whigs who had not identified themselves with either party, obtained a considerable popular and electoral vote.

Hardly had the election of Lincoln been announced before Secession and Rebellion were openly threatened in the South, and on December 20, 1860, South Carolina passed an "Ordinance of Secession" in which it was stated: "We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain . . . that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved."

Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas passed like ordinances. Other Southern States for the time being took no decisive action. When Congress met on December 3, President Buchanan in his message declared that the right to secede was unconstitutional, and although he maintained his intention to retain possession of the properties of the United States—yet he went into a long argument to prove there was no legal right to coerce a State or compel it to remain in the Union against its will. He cast the blame upon the North, and there was no hope or courage in any section for continued peace.

Buchanan's cabinet began to break up in December and the places of the Southern members were filled by Northern men. The seceders took possession of Southern ports and arsenals without trouble, the center of interest being at Charleston, where Fort Sumter was held by a small Union force under Major Anderson. An attempt was made to send relief to the garrison, but it was unsuccessful. This was in January and for three months Anderson held the fort for the Union in the mouth of the very State that was leading the movement for Secession.

The winter session of Congress was taken up by discussion of plans for compromises and concessions, but without avail. Meetings were held throughout the North, committees were appointed and every effort made to see if there could be found some way out of what was now the most critical period in the history of the Government.

In February delegates from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi met and organized a confederacy called "The Confederate States of America," and elected for their President Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens for Vice-President. Calhoun and Davis and other Southern leaders seemed to be most deliberate in their plans and labored hard in their many arguments to give plausible reasons in favor of the right of secession.

On March 2, 1861, Buchanan signed the Morrill Tariff Law, which replaced the Tariff of 1857.

Lincoln started from his home in Illinois to Washington, making speeches almost daily and trying his best to conciliate the South and to unite the North to a feeling that perhaps after all war could be averted. A plot for his assassination was discovered, but he reached Washington in safety and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1861.

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1861-65—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER GREATEST CONFLICT of MODERN TIMES—UNION PRESERVED—PRESIDENT ASSASSINATED

It should perhaps be stated here, in a word, that the Republican party was not formed for the purpose of abolishing Slavery, nor was Lincoln elected with the idea that that result would be immediately brought about. The party was formed and was successful because the people of the North were opposed to the further extension of the institution into the territory of the North and were bound to resist that extension with arms and blood if necessary. The South, on the other hand, feeling that the Republican party was bound to go further in its tenets and forbid the further holding of slaves, resorted to what its leaders believed to be a constitutional right and decided to form a government of their own. Lincoln at once, after declaring in his inaugural speech that he should take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States, set about to relieve the garrison at Fort Sumter, and a fleet was ordered to carry relief to the Fort. But before this arrival General Beauregard, the leader of the Confederate forces, summoned Major Anderson, who was in command of Sumter, to surrender. Upon refusing, the batteries of Charleston opened fire upon the Fort, April 12, 1861, and after thirty-four hours' bombardment Anderson surrendered.

The North was aroused to the highest pitch of excitement and Lincoln's call for troops was answered with promptness. Arkansas joined the Confederacy on May 6, and North Carolina May 20. Virginia and Tennessee followed somewhat later. Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland did not join the Confederacy, their citizens being divided during the entire war.

The South at first was prepared for the conflict, while the North was totally unprepared. The Federal arsenals of the South had fallen into the hands of the Confederates and their soldiers were well equipped, but it was a case of endurance and Lincoln and his supporters felt that in the end the North must win, though no one conceived that the conflict would be prolonged through four bloody years. Nat-

urally, considering the unpreparedness of the North and the early strength of the South, the first victories were with the Confederacy. The Union defeats had the double effect of spurring the people on to further action and of provoking dissatisfaction with the President and the administration. Lincoln, however, never faltered and pursued his plans unflinchingly to the end.

At first complications with England were threatened, but through the diplomacy and conciliation of Seward, the Secretary of State, open hostility was happily averted and war was confined to our home boundaries.

As the months wore on the question of the abolition of Slavery itself became a mooted question, and in March, 1862, Lincoln sent a special message to Congress recommending a resolution to the effect that "The United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolition of Slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State at its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, both public and private, produced by the change." The resolution was passed, but was not adopted by any slave State that still remained in the Union. But anti-Slavery sentiment was growing and pressure was brought to bear upon the President for emancipation. Such a proclamation was drafted by the President and submitted to his cabinet. The opinion of no member was asked—Lincoln simply announced his purpose. His idea was that the publication of his proclamation of emancipation should follow a Union victory, and when Lee was driven back at Antietam the proclamation was issued. It warned the inhabitants of the States in rebellion that unless they should return to their allegiance before the 1st of January, 1863, he would declare their slaves free. On the 1st of January, as he had promised, the final proclamation was issued and Slavery was abolished.

The success of Grant in the West brought him into such notice that he was appointed by Lincoln as Commander-in-

Chief of the Union forces to oppose General Lee, the commander of the Confederate forces. On July 1, 2, 3, 1863, the opposing forces met at Gettysburg in one of the greatest battles of all history. The Federal forces were victorious, as they were on the following day at Vicksburg, and from that time the South numbered only losses and defeats till the end of the war.

In 1864 the presidential election occurred, Lincoln being the candidate of the Republicans and General George B. McClellan of the Democrats. The Democratic convention demanded that "Immediate efforts be made for the cessation of hostilities, with the view to an ultimate convention of all the States or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal union of the States." The war was declared a failure and the acts of the President condemned. Lincoln was re-elected by a large electoral majority, the Democrats carrying only New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

The Emancipation Proclamation was considered a war measure and did not destroy Slavery in the States not in rebellion.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON SEVENTEENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1865-69—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER RECONSTRUCTION—PRESIDENT IMPEACHED—ALASKA PURCHASED—ATLANTIC CABLE

The difficulties which confronted Johnson were many. Even had the people of the North been of one mind regarding the method and scope of reconstruction, the task would have been a gigantic one, but under the circumstances, when there was no unanimity of sentiment, the work was bound to be unsatisfactory to many—if, in fact, it was satisfactory to any. On May 29, 1865, the President issued a proclamation of amnesty, giving pardon to all who had been engaged in the late Rebellion with special exceptions. Provisional governors were appointed for the Southern States, who were authorized to provide for a commission to bring about the re-establishment of the State in its constitutional relations. This seemed to many at the North, and especially to a majority of the Republican party, like placing the State back into the hands of the leaders before the Rebellion, and it seemed as if the result would be of no advantage to the race for which so much money and blood had been sacrificed.

The thirteenth Amendment, which provided for making emancipation universal and prohibited Slavery for the future, was declared in force December 18, 1865.

The fourteenth Amendment, which granted citizenship to all persons, regardless of race or color, was proclaimed in force January 28, 1868, and the fifteenth Amendment, granting suffrage to negro citizens, was proclaimed March 30, 1870.

The Congress which met December, 1865, passed an act providing for the so-called "Freedman's Bureau," which was vetoed by the President. This was followed by the veto of several important bills, which Congress passed over the President's veto, including a Freedman's Bureau bill.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENT—EIGHT YEARS—1869-77—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER RIGHTS of NEGRO—FINANCIAL PANIC—DISPUTED ELECTION—CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

Although much had been accomplished in the way of restoration of national unity, Grant found many problems which required no little skill in their solution. The adoption of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Amendments by no means gave liberty and franchise to the negroes, and the situation was made the more acute because of the so-called "Carpenter Governments" which had been established in the South, whereby the negro in many places was given undue prominence over the whites, with the result that turmoil and strife were rampant throughout the former slave territory. Particularly did one oath-bound order of Southern whites come into prominence, called the Ku-Klux-Klan. It was some years before violence and lawlessness were stamped out. Congress continued to pass repressive measures aimed largely at the protection of the negro in his new powers and rights. So-called "force" bills were passed and in many cases United States troops were sent to the South to enforce order and see to it that the negro exercised his rights of franchise.

The contention with Great Britain over her action during the war was referred to arbitration and satisfactorily settled. It was also agreed to settle by arbitration the dispute over the Northwestern boundaries.

Much dissatisfaction was now felt throughout the North and among certain factions of the Republican party against the continued enforcement by armed troops of the new Amendments to the Constitution. Many felt that the South should be left alone and that the troops should be withdrawn. There was much dissatisfaction also with the plan of the President to annex San Domingo, and although Grant finally abandoned the project, yet the friends lost because of his persistency continued to antagonize his re-election.

CAMPAIGN OF 1872

The cry in parts of the country became "Anything to beat Grant," and the little band of so-called "Liberal Republicans" organized in 1870 in the State of Missouri grew into a political party which met in national convention at Cincinnati the early part of 1872 and nominated Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The Democratic convention endorsed these nominees, although a faction refused to abide by the ticket, and made one of their own, with Charles O'Connor at its head. The Republican party renominated Grant and he was

ADMINISTRATION OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES NINETEENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1877-81—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER SILVER REMONETIZED—SPECIE PAYMENT RESUMED—TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH

President Hayes became popular at the outset of his administration by withdrawing the troops from the South and declaring that all disputes should be settled by orderly and peaceable methods to be provided by the Constitution and the laws of the State.

In the early part of 1864 an attempt was made to pass a constitutional amendment abolishing Slavery everywhere, but it did not obtain the necessary two-thirds vote in the House, although it passed the Senate by a large majority. After the election, however, the President in his annual message advocated the adoption of the amendment and after a spirited debate it was passed and afterwards ratified by three-fourths of the States. The amendment declared that "neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party should have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

On April 9, 1865, at Appomattox in Virginia, Lee surrendered to Grant and the war was terminated. While the people were rejoicing over the outcome, they were startled and shocked on the 14th of the same month by the assassination of the President by one John Wilkes Booth, an attempt being made at the same time upon the members of the cabinet.

Vice-President Andrew Johnson succeeded to the presidency and the Government began its work of reconstruction.

Nebraska was admitted to the Union and in March, 1867, Congress passed the "Civil Tenure" bill, which provided that a person should hold office until another was appointed, with the approval of the Senate, practically preventing the President from removing anyone without the "advice and consent of the Senate."

Reconstruction measures were passed by Congress and the relations between the national Legislature and the President became more and more strained. In defiance of the "Tenure of Office" Act, Johnson suspended Stanton, Secretary of War, and the Republicans determined to resort to impeachment as a means of getting rid of an executive who was becoming intolerable. The result of the impeachment trial, however, was acquittal, as the majority lacked one vote of the necessary "two-thirds."

By the time of the presidential election of 1868 most of the Southern States had re-established their constitutional relations and been readmitted to the Union. In 1867, the United States purchased from Russia the territory known as Alaska for \$7,200,000. Another important event of the time was the laying of the Atlantic Cable, in 1866.

CAMPAIGN OF 1868

General Grant was nominated by the Republican party for President, while the Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York, Grant receiving 214 electoral votes and Seymour 80. Already the enormous debt, which in the summer of 1865 amounted to a total of \$2,844,649,626, was rapidly being reduced.

re-elected by an overwhelming majority. Greeley died before the presidential electors cast their ballots, which were scattered among several candidates.

The Southern question was still a burning one and troops were constantly sent to establish authority or to quell disturbances. In 1875, the Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, was impeached, but hastily resigned his office, and he was not convicted.

In 1873, a great commercial panic swept over the country and Congress passed a bill for the increase of the currency. Grant vetoed the bill, but in 1875 a law was enacted providing for the resumption of specie payment on January 1, 1879. This gave confidence in commercial circles and prosperity was gradually restored throughout the country.

In 1876 occurred the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, commemorative of the 100th Anniversary of national existence.

CAMPAIGN OF 1876

For the presidential candidate of this year the Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, while Samuel J. Tilden of New York was nominated by the Democrats. The "Green Back" and "Prohibition" parties each had presidential candidates in this election, but gained no electoral votes. For weeks after the election the result was in doubt. Tilden had positively received 184 electoral votes, only one being needed to elect him. Contradictory electoral certificates were presented from South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Oregon. The returning boards of the Southern States had exercised wide discretion and attained to unlimited authority. Charges and counter-charges were made and the situation became more and more critical, until an adjustment was provided for by the appointment of the so-called "Electoral Commission," numbering fifteen, composed of five members from each house of Congress and five Justices of the Supreme Court. The Senate appointed three Republicans and two Democrats, and the House three Democrats and two Republicans. Four Justices were appointed, two Republicans and two Democrats, and these four selected the fifth. In this way it was expected that the commission would be non-partisan. By a vote of eight to seven the commission declared in favor of the Hayes electors, and Hayes was declared elected President and was inaugurated on March 4, 1877.

The immense increase in the mining of silver created a demand for the recognition of this metal in national coinage, and in 1878 the so-called Bland-Allison bill was passed providing for the remonetization of silver, and the dollar cre-

The Influence of Higher Education in Our National Life

The Business of the College is to Train Men for the Great Highway of Work and Service

Views of WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., LL.D., Former President of Princeton University

	13	14	15	16
	Wilson Sec. State - W. J. Bryan Sec. Treas. - W. G. McAdoo Sec. War. - L. M. Garrison Sec. Agric. - D. F. Houston Sec. Interior - F. K. Lane Sec. Navy - Josephus Daniels Sec. Com. - W. C. Clegg Post M. Genl. - A. S. Sullivan T. W. Gregory Sec. Labor - Wm. B. Wilson			
Del.	Charles R. Miller			
Penn.	J. K. Tenner	M. J. Brumbaugh		
N.J.	James F. Fielder			
Ga.	John M. Slaton	Nat. E. Harris		
Conn.	S. E. Baldwin	Marcus H. Holcomb		
Mass.	Eugene N. Foss	David I. Walsh		
Md.	Philip L. Goldsborough			
S.C.	C. L. Blease	R. I. Manning		
N.H.	Sam'l D. Felker	R. H. Spaulding		
Va.	Wm. H. Mann	H. C. Stuart		
N.Y.	M. H. Glynn	C. S. Whitman		
N.C.	Locke	Craig		
R.I.	A. I. Pothier	R. L. Buckman		
Vt.	A. L. Fletcher	Chas. W. Gates		
Ky.	James B. McCreary			
Tenn.	Ben. W. Hooper	Thos. C. Rye		
Ohio	James M. Cox	Frank B. Willis		
Ind.	Sam. M. Ralston			
Miss.	Earl Brewer			
Ill.	Edward F. Dunne			
Ala.	Emmett Oneal	Chas. Henderson		
Me.	Wm. T. Haines	Oakley C. Curtis		
Mich.	W. N. Ferris			
Wis.	F. E. McGovern	E. L. Philipp		
W.Va.	Henry D. Hatfield			
La.	Luther E. Hall			
Mo.	Elliot W. Major			
Ark.	J. T. Robinson	Geo. W. Hays		
Iowa.	Geo. W. Clarke			
Minn.	A. O. Eberhart	W. S. Hammond		
Kan.	Geo. H. Hodges	Arthur Clapper		
Neb.	John H. Morehead			
Col.	Elias M. Ammons	Geo. A. Carlson		
Mon.	Sam. V. Stewart			
N.D.	L. B. Hanna			
S.D.	F. M. Byrne			
Wyo.	J. M. Carey	J. B. Kendrick		
Okl.	Lee Cruce	R. L. Williams		
Fla.	Park Trammell			
Ore.	Oswald West	J. Withycombe		
Wash.	Earnest Lister			
Idaho.	John M. Haines	Moses Alexander		
Tex.	O. B. Colquitt	J. E. Ferguson		
Cal.	Hiram W. Johnson			
Nev.	T. L. Oddie	Emmett D. Boyle		
Utah.	William Spry			
Aris.	Geo. W. P. Hunt			
N.M.	Wm. C. McDonald			
	Wilson 435 EV. 6293019 PV. Dem. Marshall 435 EV.			
	Socialist Labor Progressives Independent Roosevelt 66 EV. 4193019 PV. Progressive Johnson 88 EV. Prohibition Taft 6 EV. 3484956 PV.			
	Rep. Butler 8 EV.			
Judiciary	Pitney	White (U.)	Hughes	
	McKenna		Lamar	
	Holmes	VanDevanter	Day	
	63 Congress		64 Congress	
Senate				
Congress				
	13	14	15	16

THE BUSINESS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

"Every phase of life outside of the family circle is public life, and the business of all education is to fit man for public life,—that is, life in relation to the social organism.

"We have set up an elaborate system of popular education and have made the maintenance of that system a function of government, upon the theory that only systematic training can give the quick intelligence, the variety of information and excellence of discretion needed by a self-governed people.

"We expect as much from school teachers as from governors in the Philippines and in Porto Rico; we expect from them the morale that is to sustain our work there. And yet, when teachers have done their utmost and the school bills are paid, we doubt and know that we have reason to doubt the efficiency of what we have done. Books can but set the mind free, can but give it the freedom of the world of thought.

"The world of affairs has yet to be attempted and the schooling of action must supplement the schooling of the written page. By education no doubt you acquaint men, while they are yet young and quick to take impressions, with the character and spirit of the polity they live under; give them some sentiment of respect for it, put them in the air that has always laid about it, and prepare them to take the experience that awaits them.

"But it is from the polity itself, and their own contact with it, that they must get their actual usefulness in affairs, and only that contact, intelligently made use of, makes good citizens. We would not have them remain children always and act always on the preconceptions taken out of the books they have studied. Life is their real master and tutor in affairs."

HEART AND ESSENCE OF EDUCATION

"What we seek is full liberation of the faculties and the man who has not some surplus of thought and energy to expend outside the narrow circle of his own task and interest is a dwarfed, uneducated man.

"I believe general training, with no particular occupation in view, to be the very heart and essence of university education. The ideal university should have for its two-fold object the production of a small body of trained scholars and investigators, and these two functions should be performed, not separately, but side by side, and informed with one spirit, the spirit of enlightenment, a spirit of learning which is neither superficial nor pedantic, which values life more than it values the mere acquaintances of the mind.

"We must deal in colleges with the spirits of men, not with their fortunes. The rule for every man is not to depend upon the education which other men prepare for him,—not even to consent to it, but to strive to see things as they are and to be himself what he is. Defeat lies in self-surrender.

"The college is for the use of the nation, not for the satisfaction of those who administer it, or for the carrying out of their private views. They may speak as experts and with a very intimate knowledge, but they also speak as servants of the country and must be challenged to give reasons for the convictions they entertain."

THE MAKING OF MASTERS OF MEN

"The college is meant to stimulate, in a considerable number of men, what would be stimulated in only a few if we were to depend entirely on nature and circumstances.

"Below the ranks of generalship and guidance, the modern world needs for the execution of its varied and difficult business a very much larger number of men with great capacity and readiness for the rapid and concentrated exertion of a whole series of faculties; planning faculties as well as technical skill; the ability to handle men as well as to handle tools and correct processes; faculties of adjustment and adoption as well as of precise execution,—men of resource as well as knowledge.

"These are the athletes, the athletes of faculty, of which our generation most stands in need. All through its ranks, besides, it needs masterful men who can acquire a working knowledge of many things readily, quickly, intelligently and with exactness—things they had not foreseen or prepared themselves for beforehand, and for which they could not have prepared themselves.

"Quick apprehension, quick comprehension, quick action are what modern life puts a premium upon,—a readiness to turn this way or that and not lose force or momentum."

THE COLLEGE AS A HIGHWAY TO WORK

"We live in an age in which no achievement is to be cheaply had. All the cheap achievements, open to amateurs, are exhausted and have become commonplace.

"If college be one of the highways to life and achievement, it must be one of the highways to work. The man who comes out of college into the modern world must therefore get out of it, if he has not wasted four vitally significant years of his life, a quickening and a training which will make him in some degree a

master among men. If he has got less, college was not worth his while.

"We must distinguish what the college is for, without disparaging any other school of any other kind. It is for the training of men who are to rise above the ranks. Unlike a technical school, the college must subject its men to a general intellectual training which will be narrowed to no one point of view, to no one vocation or calling. It must release and quicken as many faculties of the mind as possible, and not only release and quicken them, but discipline and strengthen them also by putting them to the test of systematic labor."

THE TRUE "LIFE" OF THE UNIVERSITY

"Amusements, athletic games, the zest of contest and competition, the challenge there is in most college activities to the instinct of imitation and the gifts of leadership and achievement,—all these are wholesome means of stimulation which keep young men from going stale and twining to things that demoralize.

"But they should not assume the front of the stage where more serious and lasting interests are to be served. Men cannot be prepared by them for modern life.

"The college is meant for a severer, more definite discipline than this; a discipline which will fit men for the contests and achievements of an age whose every task is conditioned upon some intelligent and effective use of the mind, upon some substantial knowledge, some special insight, some trained capacity, some penetration, which comes from the study, not from natural readiness or mere practical experience.

"In other words, the 'life' of the college should not be separated from its chief purposes and most essential objects; should not be contrasted with its duties and in rivalry with them."

WHERE THE CURRENTS OF THOUGHT FLOW

In conclusion, Dr. Wilson views the university as holding a very vital part in the nation's life; as being a center where the student may put himself into the main currents of thought that flow out of the old centuries into the new, the currents that constitute the pulse and life of the race.

Within the university men come into contact with the vital forces that have always throbbed and flowed through the centuries in making civilization and in making thought. Only thus can they play their part worthily in the great drama of men.

The university is needed to teach men the life that is in them, by teaching them the disinterested truths of science and philosophy, and that literature which is the permanent voice and song of the human spirit.

Thus, with a due and reverent understanding of all the great things that humanity has nobly accomplished and bravely attempted in the past, they may do their own part not less worthily in the present and carry forward into the future the great message of human endeavor and aspiration which they have received from the past.

There must sound in the hills of the true university this eternal voice of the human race that can never be drowned as long as men can remember what the race has hoped and purposed.

The university not only is the storehouse of all the best that has been thought and said in the past; also it is the court of appeal for the present.

Great reputations may be made in our forums and our market places; the name of this man and of that may be on every tongue, but until the court of appeal has given sentence, pronouncing lastly on each deed, no reputation is safe.

When the voice of each generation is over, the university will readjust the balance and tell future generations who were really the great men of the generation.

A VITAL NATIONAL SAFEGUARD

The value of university education is incalculable for those who are to follow a business career. Those who enter business at the outset, without the preparation of university life, run a great danger.

Every business has its atmosphere, its tradition, its own way of looking at life as merely the field for that particular business. Everything is viewed as subordinate to that, and as valuable for its relation to that.

One who begins life in this atmosphere will have his mind and imagination saturated with it and will become incapable of seeing life in any other light. There will be no check on them and harm will result both to the individual and to the state.

Therefore we must give young men a view of life which shall not be touched by the interests which will engross them when they begin to make a living.

They must learn to see life largely, as it were from the outside; to see the great and majestic tradition of law, as representing one of the noblest and most enduring sides of human life and endeavor.

Such a view of life can be gained at a university where high standards are set and maintained. There one may learn the chief end of man is not to make a living, but to keep his soul unstained, to seek truth and ensue it.

Viewed thus, the university becomes something more than a seat of learning; it becomes a vital safeguard of our national life.

THE COLLEGE A CHILD OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Immediately following the founding of Plymouth in 1620 and settlement of Boston and vicinity, long before the establishment of public schools in the Colonies, our Puritan fathers, appreciating the value of advanced learning, established the College, Harvard. The oldest Institution in this Country for higher education founded in 1636 at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

A "Free School," established in Connecticut, 1655, gradually developed into Yale College, obtaining its Charter in 1701. The third College of the Colonies and the first institution for higher education in the South was William and Mary's College, established 1693 in Virginia, the institution being named in honor of King William and Queen Mary then on the throne of England. In 1700 there were 140 churches in New England, and of the 116 pastors settled over these churches, 109 of them were graduates of Harvard College. As the population increased and the borders of civilization were extended farther and farther, until they encompassed the land, the people ever kept uppermost in their mind the necessity for advanced education as a factor of supreme importance in our National life.

The College is primarily a child of the Christian Church. It was through the generous impulse of Christian men and women who have given of their wealth for the establishing and the endowment of our Colleges, thus making it possible for thousands of the youth of our country to obtain an advanced course of training, who otherwise would be unable to go beyond the curriculum of the public school. States have also created Colleges, Universities and Schools for special and technical training, with public funds, where a wide range of courses of study are provided at a minimum cost.

Formerly the College adjusted itself almost exclusively to the preparation of young men for the learned professions. With the growth of the Nation, advanced schools of learning have not only multiplied throughout the country, but they have also broadened their Courses of study to meet the requirements of the complex conditions of modern Civilization.

Today young men and young women may not only prepare for the "learned professions," but they may become thoroughly equipped for leadership, for Technical and Mechanical occupations and a multitude of Industries, including almost every calling in life.

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The American Government Recognized as a World Power

Financial Integrity Established—Unprecedented Prosperity

ated was made a legal tender. President Hayes vetoed this bill, but it was passed over his veto.

On the 1st of January, 1879, the act providing for the redemption of greenbacks in coin—in other words, for the resumption of specie payment—was enforced without the least ripple in financial circles and paper money was again at par with coin.

As is usually the case when the executive is of one party and one or both houses of Congress of the other party, but little legislation was had or attempted during the entire administration of Hayes. There was a Democratic majority

in both the Senate and House, with the consequence that the administration was uneventful.

CAMPAIGN OF 1880

In 1880, the Republicans nominated as their candidate for President General James Garfield of Ohio, and the Democrats nominated General Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania. The tariff question was one of the principal issues of the campaign, and it was seen that sectional issues were rapidly dying away. Garfield was elected.

ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR

TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENTS—1881-85—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

PATRONAGE FIGHT—GARFIELD ASSASSINATED—CHINESE EXCLUSION—CIVIL SERVICE

The wide experience of Garfield in both civic and military affairs gave hopes for an unusually brilliant administration. The question of patronage, however, arose immediately after his inauguration and the Republican party, particularly in the State of New York, was at once divided into two factions. The leader of the "Stalwarts," was Roscoe Conkling, United States Senator, and the appointment by the President of a collector of the port of New York who was not acceptable to Conkling resulted in the Senator resigning, which action was followed by his colleague, Senator Platt. These Senators had expected to be re-elected by their State Legislature, but in this they were disappointed.

On the morning of July 2, as Garfield was about entering the depot in Washington to take a train, he was shot by a fanatic named Guiteau. He died on September 19 and was succeeded by Vice-President Arthur.

The untimely death of Garfield accentuated the evils of the so-called "spoils" system, and the question of Civil Service Reform became prominent early in Arthur's administration.

In 1883 the so-called Pendleton Act was passed, authorizing the President to direct appointments following a competitive examination and empowering him to establish a Civil Service Commission. Since that time the law has been in a large degree enlarged and enforced.

The surplus in the Treasury, in spite of the fact that the

public debt was being rapidly reduced, was growing burdensome. A Tariff Commission was appointed by the President to suggest new measures, and the so-called "tariff commission" law of 1883 was passed.

The sentiment in the Pacific States against the Chinese now became most pronounced and the Treaty of 1880 was made at Peking between a United States commission and the Chinese government providing for restriction upon the entrance of laborers from China. A law was passed two years later suspending the right of Chinese workmen to come to this country for a period of ten years, which period was extended in 1892 for another term of ten years.

CAMPAIGN OF 1884

The tariff again became an issue in 1884 and so-called "purity in politics" also came to the front. James G. Blaine, who was nominated by the Republicans, was objected to by a class of so-called "reformers," and for the first time since the war the Democrats were victorious, electing their candidate, Grover Cleveland. The charges made against Blaine preceding and during the campaign in 1884 were afterwards shown to be absolutely false as regards his integrity, though his good judgment and discretion remained a matter of questionable dispute.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND

TWENTY-SECOND PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1885-89—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER

INTERSTATE COMMERCE—TARIFF REVISION URGED—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Cleveland was the idol of the Democrats and Mugwumps and his administration opened with sweeping changes.

At the death of Vice-President Hendricks in November 1885, attention was called to the desirability of changing the line of succession in case of the death of the President or Vice-President, and the following Congress passed a bill that cabinet officers should succeed in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Secretary of the Navy, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Interior.

The dissatisfaction which had grown more and more acute over the discrimination shown by railroads in their rates to shippers resulted in the passage of the so-called "Interstate commerce" act, which provided for a commission of five persons, with powers which have since been extended very largely.

Undoubtedly the most important and far-reaching event of the administration of Cleveland was his message sent to Congress in December, 1887, dealing exclusively with the

tariff. The President not only advocated lower duties, but an entire repeal of all duties on much material used in manufacturing.

CAMPAIGN OF 1888

The tariff necessarily became the chief issue of the campaign of 1888, when the Democrats renominated Cleveland and the Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. The Democrats in their platform declared that "all unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation," while the Republicans in their platform announced that they were "uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." The Republicans carried every Northern State excepting New Jersey and Connecticut, and Harrison was elected. Before he took office the Department of Agriculture was established and a bill was passed providing for the admission of the States of North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington.

ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON

TWENTY-THIRD PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1889-93—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

McKINLEY TARIFF BILL—COINAGE OF SILVER CEASED—SECRET BALLOT ADOPTED

The principal event of the first year of Harrison's administration was the so-called "Pan-American Congress," held at Washington, consisting of delegates from the principal States of this hemisphere. While not so much was accomplished as expected, much was done towards bringing the various nations into closer relation.

Thomas B. Reed had been made speaker of the House of Representatives and adopted the custom of counting as part of a quorum all who were present, whether they voted or not. This act has done much towards doing away with so-called "filibustering" tactics by either party.

During 1890 the so-called McKinley bill was considered and passed. It was a thoroughly protective measure, designed to give ample protection to American labor and industry against foreign competition and at the same time to reduce the surplus which had grown so large and was really becoming a financial menace.

During the same year the silver purchase provision of the "Bland-Allison" act was repealed, and in its place the

so-called Sherman act was passed, with the result that the Government practically ceased to coin silver dollars, but became the possessor of an increased quantity of silver bullion.

Slight troubles with Italy and Chile were firmly met without any serious complications.

Improved methods of conducting elections were adopted by the various States tending towards a more secret method of voting and doing away with all possibility of bribery and intimidation.

CAMPAIGN OF 1892

In 1892, the Republicans renominated Harrison, while the Democrats for the third time nominated Grover Cleveland. The tariff was again the principal issue and undoubtedly the cry of high prices which were charged to the McKinley law gave the election to Cleveland, and with it gave the Democrats both houses of Congress.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND

TWENTY-FOURTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1893-97—DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER

PANIC—STRIKES—WILSON TARIFF—VENEZUELAN DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND—BOND SALE

Grover Cleveland at the beginning of his second administration inherited the so-called "Hawaiian" difficulty. A revolution had taken place in the Island early in 1893 and the more intelligent residents had displaced the Queen and established a Republican form of government. During the revolution, troops had landed from an American cruiser for the purpose of protecting American citizens and property. The finality of the situation was a treaty between the two governments, which was pending when Cleveland was inaugurated. He withdrew the treaty from the Senate, sending a special commissioner to investigate and report upon the facts regarding the condition of the Island. The report of the commission favored the Queen, and nothing was done on our part to establish a stable government.

Early in 1893 a panic swept over the country and President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress in August, declaring that "conditions were due to unwise financial legislation" and advocating the repeal of the provisions of

the Sherman act which authorized the purchase of silver. This was done, but the depression in business continued.

During that year the Chicago World's Fair was held in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. A dispute with England over the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea was settled by arbitration.

The year 1894 was accompanied by strikes and riots in many parts of the country, and the President finally felt obliged to send troops to Chicago to protect United States property. The disorders were finally quelled.

During the year Congress had been discussing a new tariff measure to take the place of the McKinley law, and an act known as the Wilson bill, or the Wilson-Gorman tariff, was finally passed by both houses of Congress and became a law without receiving the President's signature.

An income tax was provided for, but the constitutionality of this portion of the law was declared inoperative by the Supreme Court, which declared that "An income tax was,

taken as a whole, a direct tax and was inoperative and void because not apportioned among the States as the Constitution directs."

During 1895 a contention concerning the proper boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana brought affairs to a critical point between Great Britain and the South American country. The United States desired to settle the dispute by arbitration, but Great Britain refused to submit the matter to arbitration and questioned our right to interfere. Mr. Olney, Secretary of State, insisted upon our right to interfere, claiming that it was in line with the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. Congress finally appointed a commission and appropriated \$100,000 for its expenses. The commission spent several months investigating the claims of Venezuela and Great Britain, and finally the two countries agreed to submit the question to arbitration.

It was found that the Government had not a sufficient amount of gold to assure the redemption of notes and United States securities, and it resorted to a sale of bonds, increasing the debt of the United States by over \$262,000,000; the method of sale of these bonds being strongly condemned by many, while defended by others. It was believed that the business depression and idleness which continued was due to the anticipation and realization of the low duties imposed

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY

TWENTY-FIFTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1897-1901—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

DINGLEY TARIFF—PROSPERITY—SPANISH WAR—BOXER TROUBLE—PRES. ASSASSINATED

Two days after his inauguration McKinley called an extra session of Congress. At this session a tariff law known as the Dingley Act was passed. A resumption of business at once accompanied the Act and prosperity was restored to all sections of the country, increasing with each year and giving an unprecedented domestic and foreign trade and an unparalleled amount of employment with the highest wages ever known in this or any other country. Even the most partial historian will acknowledge that this wonderful progress and prosperity followed the Dingley Tariff Act if, indeed, it was not because of it.

Early in the administration of McKinley the so-called Cuban trouble became most acute. The insurrections were met by efforts on the part of Spain to crush the rebellion, but the Spanish authority was so irksome that the rebellion grew instead of being crushed. The insurgents would accept nothing but independence, and the efforts of the United States to bring peace were not successful.

On February 15, 1898, a United States battleship, the "Maine," lying in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed, carrying down 250 officers and men. The cause of the explosion has never been known, but the event precipitated action on the part of our Government. Spain made concessions and promises, but her dilatory tactics only seemed to spur on the American people to action. On April 11, the President sent a message to Congress giving a history of the difficulties between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba. On the 19th, Congress passed resolutions declaring that the people of Cuba "are, and of right ought to be free and independent," and demanding that Spain should withdraw her troops, and empowering the President to use the Army and Navy to enforce the resolutions. An ultimatum was announced and Spain, taking no action, war was begun, with the result that by the victory of Commodore Dewey over the Spanish fleet in the Philippine Islands, the capture of Santiago by the American army, and the destruction of the Spanish fleet in Cuban waters, we acquired much additional territory throughout the world, and the independence of Cuba was assured.

By the terms of peace, Spain surrendered all claim to

ADMINISTRATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

TWENTY-SIXTH PRESIDENT—EIGHT YEARS—1901-9—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

PANAMA CANAL—PRES. RECONCILES RUSSIA AND JAPAN—CRIMINAL TRUSTS INDICTED

The work of Congress during the administration of President Roosevelt, filling out the second term of President McKinley, was given largely to legislation regarding our newly acquired foreign territory and to the inauguration of provisions for acquiring and prosecuting the work upon the Isthmian Canal, connecting the waters of the Atlantic with the Pacific. For over half a century the so-called Clayton-Bulwer treaty had stood in the way of the construction of a canal by the United States. The treaty was finally abrogated and a new one signed by Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefote on December 2, 1901, being afterwards ratified by the United States Senate. The discussion now turned upon the route, and a commission was appointed and an appropriation made for the purpose of investigating the whole question. The President was authorized to enter into a treaty with Colombia, and during the summer of 1902, without the firing of a shot or the loss of a life, the State of Panama accomplished a successful revolution and established a Republic, which was recognized by the United States and other foreign powers. It was now possible for this country to build the canal, and a provision being made for the necessary expenses, the President, in accordance with the power given him, selected the so-called Panama route.

CAMPAIGN OF 1904

In 1904, President Roosevelt was nominated by the Republicans and Alton B. Parker by the Democrats. The vote given to Roosevelt was the largest ever known in our history, and with the election of President the Republicans again secured a majority in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

War between Russia and Japan in 1903 gave President Roosevelt an opportunity to offer his services as mediator, and during a cessation of hostilities representatives of the two powers met at Manchester at the invitation of the President and concluded a treaty of peace. President Roosevelt had, in much the same way, settled the great coal strike during his first administration, and while no event of transcendent importance took place, yet probably more than any other preceding President, Roosevelt was active in forwarding the best interests of the people in their material prosperity. His message to Congress in December, 1905, recommended much new legislation, and the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress enacted into law more measures and those of more importance than any other previous session of Congress in our history. Among these laws was one regulating railroad rates in interstate commerce, a law pro-

by the Wilson-Gorman law and the Republican papers, and particularly the protection organs of the country, cried out for a return to a protective tariff.

CAMPAIGN OF 1896

With this end in view, William McKinley, who had been Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee which framed the so-called McKinley law of 1890, and who was looked upon as the foremost apostle of protection in the country, was nominated by the Republicans and called the "advance agent of prosperity."

In the Democratic convention, William J. Bryan of Nebraska, in an impassioned speech, had claimed that "the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without depending upon the action of any other nation, would be a panacea for all our industrial ills." Bryan was made the nominee of the convention and with a so-called "silver platform" went before the country in advocacy of so-called "free silver."

Many of the Democrats joined the Republicans in the support of McKinley, while others nominated a ticket and became known as "Gold Democrats," their candidate being John M. Palmer of Illinois. McKinley was overwhelmingly elected and with him a Republican Senate and House of Representatives.

Cuba and ceded to the United States Porto Rico and all other Spanish islands in the West Indies, including an island in the Ladroneas. Commissioners were appointed to conclude a definite treaty and all sovereignty of the Philippine Islands was given to the United States. On February 6, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the American Senate. Twenty million dollars was given to Spain for the Philippines, and the victorious United States declared that Cuba should be "free and independent."

During the Spanish War the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands had been consummated. Congress had passed a joint resolution providing for the acquisition of the Islands and for their government.

During 1900, the so-called Boxer trouble in China was accompanied by shutting off for a time all communication with the Legations at Peking. Through the diplomacy of President McKinley and Secretary Hay, the affair was amicably terminated without war, and with dignity and satisfaction to all concerned.

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

In 1900 McKinley was renominated by the Republicans and Bryan was again the nominee of the Democratic party. Various smaller parties, including the Prohibition and Labor parties made nominations, but as in 1896, the campaign was fought out between the Republicans and Democrats, the issues of the former contest being repeated and discussed again in 1900. McKinley was again elected President and with him Theodore Roosevelt as Vice-President, together with a Republican Congress in both Senate and House of Representatives.

During the month of April following McKinley's second inauguration, the President started on a trip to the Pacific coast, expecting to return by the way of Buffalo to be present at the opening ceremonies of the Pan-American Exhibition. Mrs. McKinley's illness changed his plans for the trip and it was arranged that the President should visit the Exposition in the fall, September 4 being finally fixed as the date. On September 6, while the President was holding a public reception, he was shot by an anarchist named Czolgosz and died about a week afterward, Vice-President Roosevelt succeeding to the presidency.

viding for free alcohol used in the arts and a law requiring more rigid meat inspection and pure foods, besides laws affecting employees and the general welfare of the people throughout the country.

LEAVES U. S. DURING PRESIDENCY

In November, 1906, President Roosevelt visited the Panama Canal Zone, afterward sending a special message to Congress on the work. It was the first instance of a President of the United States going outside of the country during his term of office.

Mr. Roosevelt made an attempt to prosecute a rigorous warfare against the aggressions of industrial monopolies, and all the resources of the Department of Justice were brought into activity to regulate the trusts in the interests of all the people. That the Federal Government might have larger control and supervision of the affairs of all corporations, he strongly advocated effectual legislation.

A fleet of sixteen battleships under his instructions sailed for a voyage around the world on December 16, 1907, receiving great honor at the various Latin-American posts, the cities of Australia, and by the Japanese on October 25, 1908.

President Roosevelt's protest against a bill of the California Assembly, 1909, depriving Japanese children of equal privileges in the public schools had due weight, and prevented the enactment of a measure disapproved by Japan.

Mr. Roosevelt declined all overtures for reelection and retired from office March 4, 1909, after a period of seven and one-half years as President of the United States, and an unbroken period of twenty years of executive work. The administration of President Roosevelt was characterized throughout by the principle of giving every man a "square deal."

ROOSEVELT'S AFRICAN EXPEDITION

An expedition to Africa to hunt and gather specimens of rare animals for the Smithsonian Institution, which provided the outfitting of the expedition, was planned before the expiration of his presidential term. Over ten thousand skins have been received. With his son Kermit he sailed from New York, March 23, 1909, and disembarked at Mombasa, British East Africa. He made his way up the country into Uganda with a large caravan. Upon his return trip he delivered a number of lectures in various educational centers in Egypt and Europe, receiving distinguished honors, and returned home in June, 1910, after a most successful expedition. Upon his arrival in New York he was given the largest ovation ever extended to any man in America.

THE STORY OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES

Their Origin—Party Principles—State and National Influence—Destination

ORIGIN OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES

Political division in the United States had its origin in the dissensions that arose among the states prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1790. The main question in dispute was whether a centralized form of government should be adopted or the "firm league of friendship" between the states should endure. Resolved to simpler terms, the issue was between states' rights and nationalism.

So strong had been the feeling against a powerful centralized government and so jealous were the several states for the sanctity of their so-called "rights," that even in the early turmoil of the Revolutionary War they held themselves more or less apart, maintaining each a kind of separateness of government.

Finally, in 1777, Congress adopted a plan for a permanent confederation. According to this plan, each state had but one vote in the Congress. Yet so jealous were the several states for their independence that it was more than three years after its passage before this "league of friendship" was agreed to by all the states.

It was a lamentably weak confederation. The states retained practically sovereign powers, and almost no authority was vested in the central government. Thus it was the privilege of the states to levy and collect all taxes and imposts, recruit all military forces, equip and arm them and organize them into regiments. Congress had no power at its command to enforce its enactments. It had the sole right to declare war, but was dependent on state legislation for money, men and arms. It could contract public debts, but was dependent upon state legislation for means to pay even the interest on what it owed. Though it was the tribunal of last resort between the states, it had no power to enforce its decrees. Empowered to make treaties with foreign powers, it was dependent upon the state legislatures for the enforcement of the terms of such treaties when made. Moreover, each state possessed the right to a protective tariff and a navigation act of its own, and could tax the transit of ships and products from other states across its boundary line. It is not to be wondered at that this loose confederation should become the scoff of Europe and the despair of the nation.

When it became evident that the young nation was plunging to ruin, a convention was called at Philadelphia in 1787 to form a new Constitution. George Washington was chosen its president. Dissensions arose at once among the delegates. Some opposed any change that might detract from the relative powers of the states. Others, notably the Virginia delegates, were determined that a strongly federal force of government should be formed. They had come prepared with a plan of government, drafted by Madison, which was revolutionary yet adequate. In this crisis were born two parties. Those who favored a strong central government were styled Federalists, while those who wished the old confederation to be preserved were known as anti-Federalists. A majority of the delegates, including Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton and Jefferson, were Federalists. Their will prevailed and the immortal Constitution was adopted in 1790.

In the debates which preceded the adoption of the Constitution, the dark shadow of the slavery issue arose to perpetuate the political division of the nation. Also the first disputes over the tariff question were heard at this session.

FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS

Though there was at first a slight confusion over party names, they were simplified at the time of Washington's inauguration and only the Federalists and anti-Federalists need be considered. At once there was a shifting of membership and there has been no direct unbroken continuation of party lines. Party division has always been most clearly seen in the nomination and election of Presidents. Previous to 1804 each elector cast two votes. The candidate receiving the largest number was declared President, the next largest number Vice-President. Washington twice received the unanimous vote of all the electors—69 in 1789 and 132 in 1792. The first real party conflict came in 1796 between John Adams, Federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the anti-Federalists or Republicans. Adams won out, but the contest was renewed in 1800, when Jefferson was successful after the election, because of a tie vote, was thrown into the House of Representatives.

EARLY REPUBLICANS

In 1804, the Constitution having been amended, the electors voted for a President and Vice-President. Jefferson, Republican, received 162 electoral votes, Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. The Federalists, who had been in control of the government for twelve years, continued in the minority, the Republicans electing James Madison in 1808 over Pinckney; Madison in 1812 over DeWitt Clinton, Federalist, James Monroe in 1816 over Rufus King, Federalist, and Monroe in 1820 over John Quincy Adams, another Republican, the latter receiving only one electoral vote. The Federalist party had now become practically extinct and a marked unanimity prevailed, resulting in the "Era of good feeling."

DEMOCRATS

To the Republicans had been given also the name Democrats, at first in derision and contempt, but the name and also the term Democrat-Republican was accepted, and though all the candidates up to 1824 were generally known as Republicans, when John Quincy Adams defeated Andrew Jackson, the election again being thrown into the House of Representatives because of no majority of the electoral vote, in 1828 the followers of Jackson were known as Democrats and their opponents as National Republicans.

NATIONAL REPUBLICANS

These party terms were continued in 1832, when Jackson defeated Henry Clay. Not only the National Republicans, but several minor factions of the Democratic party were opposed to Jackson, uniting by 1836 into the Whig party, having for its first candidate William H. Harrison, who was defeated by Martin Van Buren, the candidate of the Democrats.

*Edited By Francis Curtis—
See Pages 2-3-5-7—For Diagrammatic*

WHIGS

In 1840 Harrison defeated Van Buren and thus obtained control of all branches of the government. James K. Polk, Democrat, defeated the Whig candidate, Henry Clay, but in 1848 the Whigs were again successful, electing Zachary Taylor over Lewis Cass, the Democrat. The Whig party, however, began to decline in 1852 Franklin Pierce, Democrat, easily defeated Scott, the Whig candidate.

In 1854 the Republican party had its birth in many states through independent movements organized to oppose extension of slavery, becoming a national party in 1856, since which time we have had in opposition the two great political parties, Democratic and Republican.

MINOR PARTIES

Previous to the Civil War minor parties were of brief duration and acted either as a means of transition from one party to another or as the basis and nucleus of a new party. There were no conventions or platforms till 1832, nominations being made for the most part by Congressional caucus or a concurrence of state legislatures.

PARTY DISTINCTION

No generation of party principles will hold up true in the early years of the Republic. With every administration came new problems, their solution dividing into factions and making strict party lines difficult. A Federalist in 1900 was by no means the same as a Federalist before the Constitution. Perhaps there is no doctrine so general as that shown by the construction of the Constitution during the formation period of the Government. The Federalist-Whig-Republican division favored construction and larger national powers, while the anti-Federalist-Democrat-Republican-Democratic division favored strict construction, states' rights and greater individual liberty and freedom from government restraint.

THE TAMMANY SOCIETY

The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was organized in New York City in 1789 as a purely patriotic and non-partisan organization. It became an organization of great political power. Its adherents were sometimes known as "Bucktails," from an ornament which they commonly wore during political campaigns. The society finally came under the control of political managers, who made it the central organization of the Democratic party in the city of New York.

CLINTONIANS

In 1812 the opposition to Madison united in support of DeWitt Clinton, a Republican, and were called "Clintonians." The Federalists made no nomination, but joined the discontented Republicans in opposition to Madison, but his success brought an end to the "Clintonians."

PEACE PARTY

During the War of 1812 a faction of the Federalists was known as the "Peace Party," but before any definite movement had been planned and executed the war ended and with it the party.

NULLIFICATION

The strict construction idea was exemplified by the Nullification party of South Carolina, led by Hayne and Calhoun, who, though they agreed in the general principle, disagreed in regard to method. Many Southern leaders, particularly in South Carolina, believed that the high tariffs of 1824 were detrimental to Southern industrial interests and an Ordinance of Nullification was passed by South Carolina, but the movement was crushed out by President Jackson and the Ordinance was repealed after the Compromise tariff was adopted.

ANTI-MASON

In 1826 excitement in New York state over the disappearance of one William Morgan, who threatened to make public the secrets of Free Masonry, resulted in a so-called Masonic party. The movement became quite formidable, presenting a ticket of its own in 1832, but gained only the electoral vote of Vermont and was swallowed up in the party, remaining, however, a powerful faction of that party, electing its candidate for governor in Pennsylvania in 1835.

LOCO-FOCOS

The Loco-Focos, so named because they lighted matches when the lights were turned out in the convention hall, were at first a faction of the Democratic party in New York growing out of the so-called Equal Rights party, opposed to the state banking system. The name Loco was at times applied to the whole Democratic party, adoption by Van Buren of the sub-treasury system brought harmony and an end to the faction and name.

LIBERTY PARTY

Anti-Slavery and abolition sentiment existed from the earliest years of the Republic, Garrison, Lundy and Lovejoy, however, crystallized all movements into one anti-Slavery party in 1835-1836, which gradually merged into the party of 1839 which in 1840 nominated James G. Birney for President. In 1844 Birney was again nominated, his candidacy losing New York state and thus enabling Polk to defeat Clay, the Whig candidate.

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*America's Foremost Political Historian
Chart of All Parties—From the Revolution to the Present*

BARNBURNERS—FREE-SOILERS

The party finally merged into the Free-Soil party, which nominated Van Buren in 1848. These supporters of Van Buren were at first a faction of the Democratic party in New York, who resented the determination of the Southern leaders not to nominate Van Buren in 1844. They were called "Barnburners" and the opposition faction "Hunkers." Both factions withdrew from the Democratic convention of 1848, the Barnburners joining the remnant of the Liberty party and calling themselves Free-Soilers. In 1852 they nominated John P. Hale, who was known as a Free-Soil Democrat. The Free-Soil party carried no state, but had during its existence from 15 to 20 representatives in Congress. It merged completely into the Republican party, which grew out of the movement to oppose the extension of Slavery into the territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

AMERICANS OR KNOW-NOTHINGS

The sentiment against aliens was so acute in 1852 when the Whig party was breaking up that a movement of secret character gained the strength of a national political party called the "American or Know-Nothing" party. The latter name was used because of the secretive character of the meetings. The tenet of the party was "America for Americans" and its members held aloof from any discussion of the Slavery question. In 1856, it nominated Millard Fillmore for President, but carried only Maryland, though a popular vote of 784,000 was gained. By 1860 the party had become disintegrated and lost in the two great opposing divisions, Republican and Democratic.

REPUBLICANS

The large popular and electoral vote gained for the first candidate of the Republican party, John C. Fremont, in 1856, showed that a new political division was formed of nearly equal strength with the Democratic division. The Republicans were successful in every subsequent election till 1884—electing in succession Lincoln twice, Grant twice, Hayes and Garfield. In 1884 Grover Cleveland, Democrat, defeated James G. Blaine, Republican, but was defeated by Benjamin Harrison, Republican, in 1888. Cleveland was again successful in 1892 over Harrison. In 1894 and 1900 William McKinley, Republican, defeated William J. Bryan, Democrat, and in 1904 Theodore Roosevelt, Republican, defeated Alton B. Parker, Democrat.

DIVIDED DEMOCRATS AND THE UNION PARTY

In 1860 the Democratic party was divided into Northern and Southern factions, Stephen A. Douglas being the candidate of the former and John C. Breckinridge of the latter. John Bell was nominated by the "Constitutional Union Party," composed largely of Whigs who had not become amalgamated with either the Republicans or Democrats.

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

The "Grange" Movement—Patrons of Husbandry—organized in 1867, grew into powerful cooperative lodges of farmers. The Movement had its origin under President Johnson, who appointed a commission consisting of O. H. Kelley and W. M. Saunders, both of the Bureau of Agriculture, to investigate the agricultural and mineral resources of the South.

It was discovered that agriculture was in a state of great depression all through the South, consequent upon the changes created by the Civil War. There was also at this time a serious dissatisfaction among the farmers throughout the West and great Northwest in regard to the heavy freight rates and unjust discriminations made by the railroads in transporting the farmers' products.

It was also charged by the farmers that middlemen exacted exorbitant prices for agricultural machinery. Kelley and Saunders, both being Masons, conceived the idea of organizing the farmers into a secret society, on the same line as the Masons and Odd Fellows, to be known as the "Patrons of Husbandry" and the local lodges to be known as "granges." The movement became very popular and within a few years extended its organization into almost every state and territory in the Union, becoming a force of mighty power.

The movement, while not a political party, exerted a tremendous influence upon state and national legislation, especially with reference to a wide range of questions bearing upon the great agricultural industry of the country, emancipating the farmer from many unjust burdens and unfair discriminations.

As a result of the movement, the Department of Agriculture at Washington was created in 1888, and the Secretary of Agriculture made a member of the President's cabinet.

The service of the Department of Agriculture has been of incalculable value to the agricultural interests of the country.

LIBERAL REPUBLICANS

In 1870 a so-called Liberal Republican movement originated in Missouri and its leaders in 1872 nominated Horace Greeley, who was indorsed by the Democratic convention. Certain so-called straight out Democrats refused to support Greeley and nominated Charles O'Connor.

LABOR PARTIES

Beginning in 1888, there has been one or two so-called national Labor parties in the field which have also maintained state organizations. The Labor party really dates back to the Trades Unions of 1870 and the National People's Union which followed.

PROHIBITION

The Prohibitionist party was organized in 1876, nominating Green Clay Smith of Kentucky for President and polling 9,522 votes. It has made nominations religiously ever since, but in no national election has the whole vote polled by the party exceeded 260,000. Indirectly, however, the party has no doubt inspired the recent prohibition legislation in the several states.

GREENBACKS

In order to meet the expenses of the Civil War, the United States government had issued irredeemable paper money, called greenbacks. So much of this money was issued that it declined in value 50 per cent, while the value of all commodities rose proportionately, causing much distress. In 1875 Congress provided for the redemption of these greenbacks in gold on January 1, 1879. Instantly the greenbacks became as valuable as gold, while the market price of all commodities went down. Many persons who believed that an abundance of "cheap money" would bring prosperity to the country by high prices for food and clothing were opposed to the resumption of specie payments, as the redemption of greenbacks in gold was called. They formed the "Greenback party" in 1876 and were a force of importance in the politics of the next few years, but the party died after the election of 1884.

PEOPLE'S PARTY AND POPULISTS

The passage by Congress in 1890 of the Sherman Act, which required the Secretary of the Treasury to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month at the market price and to issue Treasury notes in payment, which should be legal tender for all debts, and which should be redeemable in either gold or silver, resulted in an alarming condition of the national finances. The people hoarded their gold and silver declined in value 40 per cent. Opposition to the Sherman Act on the part of the majority was met by the formation in the silver-producing states of the People's or Populistic party. This party in the presidential election of 1892 cast 1,122,000 votes for James B. Weaver, its nominee. The Populists merged with the Democrats in 1896 and went down to defeat with W. J. Bryan.

SOCIALISTS

Socialism, which had its birth in Europe and must not be confounded with anarchism, became a factor in American politics in 1892, when the Socialist Labor party put a presidential ticket in the field. Four years later a split occurred and the Socialist party was formed, both parties putting forth national, state and municipal tickets. The Socialist party in the presidential campaign of 1908 polled 420,793 votes, the Socialist Labor party casting 31,249. The Socialists have elected many mayors and minor municipal officers, and in 1911 elected their first member of Congress. The Socialists form a constructive, not a destructive party, as many have erroneously assumed. Their principal theory of politics is that not only the machinery of government, but the means of production as well, should be controlled by the whole people. Their principal political demands are: Equal suffrage for all adult men and women; equal pay for equal work to men and women employed by the state or any of its subdivisions; the initiative, referendum, proportional representation and right of recall; home rule for municipalities; direct election of all public magistrates by the people; the extension of inheritance taxes, and a graduated income tax.

AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

A revival of the sentiment against aliens gave birth in 1895 to the American Protective Association, a political organization which worked in secret lodges and dominated the Republican party in several states, notably in Massachusetts, where it gained control of the Legislature and elected several mayors. Its influence began to wane in 1898 at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war.

GOLD DEMOCRATS

In 1896 those Democrats who opposed the silver plank of the Democratic platform and who did not support McKinley were called Gold Democrats and nominated John M. Palmer for President.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The Progressive Political Party had its birth as a protest against the action of the National Republican Committee in ruling out what were claimed to be regularly and righteously elected Roosevelt delegates to the National Convention of 1912. Delegates pledged to support the nomination for President, Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, attended the convention but refused to vote. Immediately following the adjournment of the Republican Convention, Roosevelt delegates assembled in an adjoining hall and formed the Progressive Party, unanimously nominating Hon. Theodore Roosevelt as their candidate for President of the United States. The party was nicknamed the "Bull Moose Party," from the aggressive personality of its candidate. In its first general election the party cast 4,119,507 ballots, or over half a million more than the entire Republican vote.

PASSES TO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

In 1904 the Republican and Democratic parties polled 94 per cent of the total vote cast and the 59th Congress contained only members of the two great parties. The 60th Congress, 1907-1909, had a substantial Republican majority in both houses, as did the 61st. But at the election of 1910, a Democratic majority of over 60 was returned to the House of Representatives, including one Socialist, and the Republican majority in the Senate reduced to 10.

With the inauguration of President Woodrow Wilson—Democrat—March 4, 1913, both houses of the National Congress had a Democratic majority.

America's Principles of Moral Law Moulding International Policies

13

The Government Confronted With Great Problems Effecting the People's Welfare

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM H. TAFT TWENTY-SEVENTH PRESIDENT—FOUR YEARS—1909-13—REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER INTERNATIONAL PRIZE COURT ESTABLISHED—LEGISLATION EFFECTING PUBLIC INTEREST

In June, 1908, William H. Taft received the Republican nomination for President, and immediately resigned as Secretary of War. At the following November election he received the popular vote, and 321 out of 438 electoral votes. Following his inauguration on March 4, 1909, he called Congress in extra session to revise the tariff. On August 5 the Payne-Aldrich bill became law, notwithstanding many Republicans voted against it on the stand that it was not according to party pledges to revise the tariff downward. On September 14, Mr. Taft started on a speechmaking tour of the Pacific Coast, covering on his return the Southwest, much of the Mississippi Valley, and the South Atlantic States. He was met at El Paso, Texas, by President Diaz of Mexico.

This national policy, as declared in recommendations to Congress and in public addresses, included the Corporation Tax—which was substituted in the Payne Tariff Law for the proposed inheritance tax; the Federal Income Tax—which must be ratified by three-fourths of the states to become effective; the Central Bank; the Colonization of Alaska under a Government of Commission; a Commerce Court and other devices to control railroads; ship subsidies; conservation; and postal savings banks. He formed a Budget Commission in the Cabinet, and influenced the Senate to establish a permanent Committee on Public Expenditures, with the object of adjusting equitably the demands upon the public treasury. Mr. Taft on March 7, 1911, accepted the resignation of Secretary of the Interior Richard A. Ballinger, and appointed Walter S. Fisher as his successor.

President Taft procured much important legislation, including a conservation law under which his withdrawals of water power sites, phosphate, petroleum, and coal lands amounted in 1912 to about 125,000 square miles; and he declared himself in favor of the policy of having the Government hold all mineral-bearing lands and lease concessions to develop them. Congress gave him \$250,000 for tariff board expenses to investigate the cost of production at home and abroad, in the interest of a more scientific revision of the tariff. The reciprocity legislation requested by the President went through the House about two weeks after, but the Senate delayed passage until late in July. Two months later Canadian politics, influenced by certain gigantic forces in the United States, dealt the measure a death-blow.

The Democratic House now began a tariff reform procedure of its own, after having accepted the President's duty to support his reciprocity plans. The Progressive Republicans in the Senate united with the Democrats to further this procedure; and before the end of the extra session Congress passed bills reducing duties in the wool and cotton schedules, and placing on the free list a number of materials used largely by farmers. All three were vetoed by the President—the wool bill because the cost of production had not yet been reported upon by his Tariff Board, and the other two on the ground that they were loosely drawn. The bills were not re-passed over the veto. At the regular session following the House Tariff Board reported on wool and several other measures, and the contest for lower duties was renewed. Revised bills of the steel, wool and cotton schedules, and withheld approval from the other two, stating as rules were passed; but the President permitted the last one

his reason that the industries concerned were not sufficiently protected. The loyalty of the Senate to the President and his opposing Democratic Congress came about by the attempts on the part of the hostile Congress to engraft measures of new and permanent legislation upon the annual appropriation bills. The President met the crises victoriously. The most prominent cases were those of the army bill, which was designed at first to legislate the chief of staff, Gen. Leonard Wood, out of office; and the legislative, executive, and judicial bill, containing provisions abolishing the Commerce Court, and limiting the tenure of employees in the classified civil service of the Government generally to seven years. When these bills had been vetoed, Congress passed new budget bills with the offensive features expunged. In connection with the attempt to wipe out the Commerce Court, Judge Archibald of that tribunal was impeached by the House on various charges of corruption; the Supreme Court, while disposing at this time of a matter concerning railroad regulation, rebuked the Commerce Court for overstepping its authority and interfering with matters under the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

In foreign relations the Administration made notable record. The long-delayed Canadian fisheries question was settled. The international boundary between the United States and Mexico at a point near El Paso, Texas, was settled by the purchase of a strip of land whose ownership was uncertain. A treaty for the protection of seals in the North Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea was signed and ratified by Great Britain, Russia, Japan and the United States. The Government joined other leading world powers in establishing an international prize court. The Senate voted to extend the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to cover the possession by foreign corporations of territory on the American Continent suitable for conversion into military or naval bases. The commercial treaty of 1832 was denounced by the Government of the United States on account of the ill treatment of Jewish travellers in Russia holding United States passports. An act of Congress for the admission of American-owned ships to the use of the Panama Canal free of tolls of \$1.25 per net registered ton levied on others, and debarring vessels owned, directly or indirectly, by railroad companies, was passed notwithstanding the protest of the British Government and a large element of the American press, which was signed and defended by the President, with the assurance that in regulating Canal tolls, the United States had no intention of violating the Hay-Pauncefote treaty.

The partisan opponents of Mr. Taft expressed themselves on his retirement in the highest terms of appreciation. They refer to the Payne-Aldrich tariff as his single conspicuous blunder and hasten to record the triumphs of his administration in the strongest language: "He was a constitutional magistrate, governing by law and not by caprice. He gave us the greatest Supreme Court since the days of Marshall and Story. He was the first President to enforce the criminal clauses of the Sherman Act. He powerfully supported the cause of arbitration. He worked for reciprocity, suppressed jingoism, promoted Civil Service reform, and had regard for economy." In his retirement, he took with him the good will and respect of all who knew, and could appreciate what he struggled to do for the public good.

ADMINISTRATION OF WOODROW WILSON TWENTY-EIGHTH PRESIDENT— YEARS—1913— DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER IMPORTANT TARIFF AND CURRENCY LEGISLATION—ACUTE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Although Woodrow Wilson received a minority of the popular vote, he was elected by an overwhelming majority of the electoral college.

After his inauguration of March 4, 1913, President Wilson called a special session of Congress to prepare a new tariff law and to improve the currency system.

In the first months of his administration President Wilson's announced policy was the promotion of individual enterprise and efficiency, the direct appeal to the good judgment and honor of the individual, the state, or the nation whose interests may be concerned. He opposed protection, subsidies, and bounties, on the ground that they tended to diminish self-reliance, and to the unjust monopolies of the trusts.

The refusal of the President on the first month of his administration to request American bankers to participate in the proposed "Six-Power" loan to China was based upon his judgment that the conditions infringed upon the national prerogative of the Chinese Republic. In April, 1913, he sent Secretary of State Bryan to California to avoid threatened complications with Japan, urging the governor and Legislature to amend the act so as not to embarrass the National Government. He emphasized the necessity of the forms of law and constitutional government in his declared policy with regard to Central and South America, and particularly Mexico.

President Wilson, on October 3, 1913, approved the new tariff act, known as the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Law, which was passed by Congress sitting in special session from April 7th. The new law makes a radical change in United States tariff history—the first in over half a century to make generally lower duties.

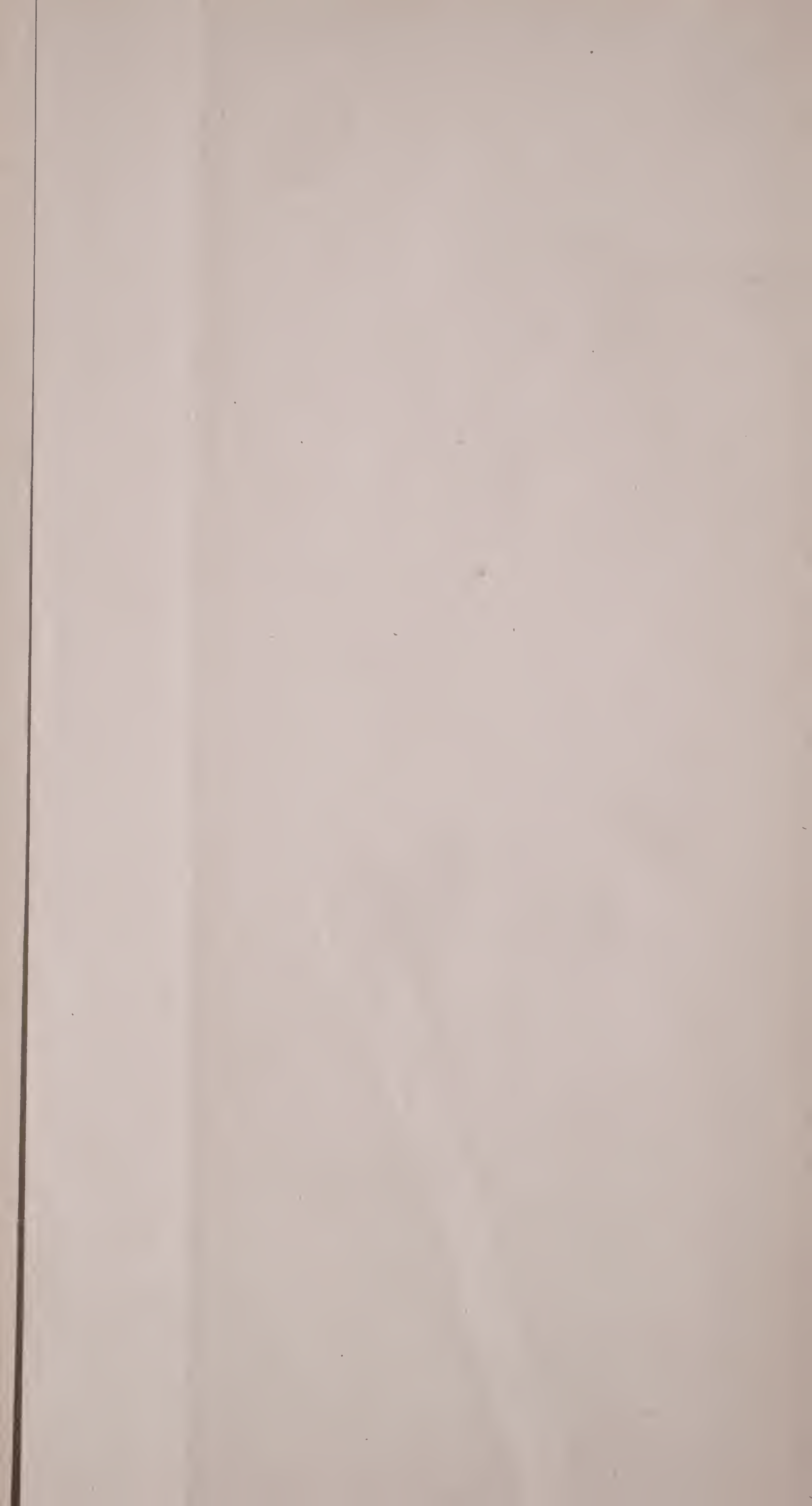
In the same year, 1913, the new administration passed the Federal Reserve Act, creating a new system of Federal Reserve Banks, in which all National Banks in the United States are required to hold stock. There are twelve of these Reserve Banks, located in twelve important cities. The entire financial system created by the Act is managed by the Federal Reserve Board of seven members, two of whom, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, are ex officio members, and five appointed by the President.

A third law of general interest passed by the Wilson Administration was the Income Tax Bill, made possible by the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated October 22, 1914, shows that 357,598 persons made returns under this law, and of these 44 reported incomes of over one million dollars.

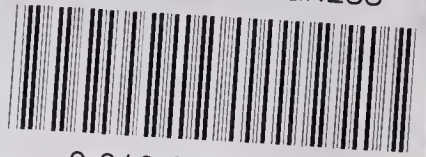
During the first half of the Wilson Administration more complicated questions of foreign relations forced themselves upon the attention of the President than usually fall to the lot of a president during his entire term of office. The Mexican situation was inherited from the Taft regime. Chaos has reigned in Mexico for the past five years. Mr. Wilson has been accused of having no settled policy toward that distracted country, and public opinion is much divided on the wisdom of his course. He refused to recognize Huerta, because of the way in which he rose to power, and at the present time he has recognized no leader as President of Mexico because no one has demonstrated his ability to conquer his rivals and establish an orderly government. The most acute phase of our Mexican relations came about by the action of a party of Mexicans who took a party of Americans from a navy launch flying the United States flag, on April 9, 1914, at Tampico. Admiral Mayo demanded their immediate release, and a salute of twenty-one guns. The men were released, but Huerta refused to salute. Shortly afterward, to prevent German arms from reaching Huerta, Admiral Fletcher occupied Vera Cruz. To solve the tangle resulting from conditions in Mexico, the United States invited the representatives of Argentine, Brazil, and Chile to act as a board of mediation. The mediators met at Niagara Falls, Ontario, during the summer of 1914. Because Carranza would not agree to an armistice, little was accomplished, and because Huerta was rapidly approaching the end of his power, the task of the mediators vanished. Since then the policy of President Wilson has been to allow the Mexicans to work out their own salvation.

Since mid-summer, 1914, the attitude of the government of the United States toward the warring nations, and particularly toward the German submarine policy, and the British policy regarding neutral commerce, has overshadowed every other problem of the Wilson Administration.





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